TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1907.

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Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XXX.

BRISTOL:

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[1] Issued with Part II.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS
At the Annual Spring Meeting
At Northleach and Chedworth,
Tuesday, May 28th, 1907.

The route selected was the main road over the hills from Andoversford to Northleach, with a brief halt on the way to inspect the quaint little church at Shipton Sollars. On this route the road over Cotswold for several miles gradually ascends, until at last, on the timbered crest beyond Puesdown, it reaches the height of just nine hundred feet, and affords a magnificent view of the billowy downs, which, in marked contrast to some of the projections facing the Severn valley and forming the escarpment of the range, have no roughness of outline, but rather resemble the settling waves of some great ocean when the time of storm and stress has subsided. The sameness of colour increased the resemblance, for in the absence of the sun to accentuate the light and shade of valley and hill, all was tinged with the same tender green of early spring. From Northleach, as will be recorded in detail in its proper place, the route of the excursion lay on the old Roman "Foss Way" to Foss Cross, where, suddenly turning to the right, it was continued up the picturesque valley of the Coln to Chedworth Villa, thence to Withington and Cheltenham. Altogether the road journey totalled but little under thirty miles. To most of the party it was new ground, for the Society last visited Northleach some twenty-five years ago, when Mr. Wingfield was the president. The summer meeting that year

was held at Stow-on-the-Wold. On that occasion the members had been to Salmonsbury Camp, then they visited the church at Farmington, and came on to Northleach to luncheon.

The party included the following :—Rev. C. S. Taylor (president of the Society), Mr. F. F. Fox (president of the Council), Mr. G. M. Currie (treasurer), Mr. John E. Pritchard hon. secretary for Bristol), Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley (president-elect), and in all about eighty members and their friends joined the excursion.

Letters were received expressing regret at inability to attend from Mr. Michael G. Lloyd-Baker (the hon. general secretary) on account of yeomanry duties, and from Canon Bazeley, who, having returned from the Italian lakes with the object of being at the spring meeting, was suffering from a severe cold.

Assembling from various parts of the county at Andoversford and Dowdeswell, the party started on the brake journey, for which half a dozen vehicles had been chartered, at about eleven o'clock. The first halt was at Shipton Sollars, to view the church.

Shipton Sollars—Shipton Solers—Scipeton, derives its second name from Simon Solers, who came to the possession of the manor by marriage in the reign of Henry III.

The church is a small structure, dedicated to St. Mary, dating from the thirteenth century, the nave being about 30 feet long and 15 feet 6 inches wide, and the chancel 18 feet by 13 feet 6 inches. The fifteenth-century roofs of the trussed rafter type, giving a semi-circular outline, together with moulded wall plates, still remain to nave and chancel, while the former has two tie-beams with double ogee mouldings in addition.

A small portion of the nave roof at the eastern end is roughly boarded, with small ribs and bosses of poor workmanship, somewhat similar in principle to that over the rood-loft at the church of St. Mary, Great Witcombe, while at the west end are two wooden trusses which originally supported a low wooden turret above, which was in existence early in the nineteenth century. The pulpit, which has a sounding-board, is of poor character, of about the middle of the seventeenth century. On the north side of the nave is a very good incised sepulchral slab about 6 feet 6 inches by 3 feet, of fourteenth-century date.

The floor of the chancel is 8 inches lower than the nave, the chancel arch, which is only about 5 feet 6 inches wide, being plainly chamfered,

apparently of thirteenth-century date, as are also the low lancet window and piscina in the south wall. On the north side is a double aumbry with its stone shelf in position. The remaining windows are Perpendicular, those on the south side being square-headed, while the north and south doorways are of the same period (the former now being blocked up), with continuous double-chamfered jambs and a label mould.

One peculiar feature connected with the building is that apparently there never has been a right of burial outside the church, but numerous interments have taken place inside the building.

The church was found by the present rector in a very bad state, being used as a shed for cattle, &c., and a view of the building, dated 1888, depicts the windows all blocked up, and a general appearance of neglect and decay. By his energy and the generosity of his wife, Mrs. Pugh, the edifice has been preserved, and occasional services are now held therein.

When the visitors had taken their places in the quaint little church, the PRESIDENT said that Mr. Overbury, who was to have described the details of the church to them, had put down in the programme all that he had to say. The church was disused for a great many years, but had now been made decent, and was used for public worship.

Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY remarked that in 1883 trees were growing up through the roof of the church, and there were cows inside. Credit was due to the present rector for the alterations. They would observe that the whole nave was raised about a foot above the level of the chancel, which was due to the circumstance that outside the church there was no license to bury, consequently everybody buried in the parish had been interred in the church, which had raised the floor.

Before the party left Shipton Sollars Church they expressed their thanks to the Rev. C. Pugh (the rector), who had welcomed them, and who in reply warmly thanked the Association for having honoured him with their visit, expressing regret on behalf of Mrs. Pugh and himself that the party could not come to the rectory or visit the other church of Shipton Oliffe in the parish.

The drive to Northleach was a pleasant one, the members appreciating the healthy north-eastern breezes which blew across the uplands, and admiring the extensive views on all hands. What an old-world place they were approaching was realised when the party saw in one of the fields a team of six oxen resting from the work of ploughing. In their trim harness the oxen looked picturesque, and brought back to memory the time when the light arable lands of the Cotswolds were generally tilled by this method. Within the recollection of many of the inhabitants some two hundred beasts were employed in the neigh-

bourhood of Northleach for this purpose, but the number in recent years has very much decreased, and only on a few estates are teams of oxen now employed. Just before entering Northleach, the old direct coach road to London, now overgrown with grass, was seen. At the foot of the hill lies Northleach, and the members had a stay of three hours in the town, which is full of interest to antiquaries.

Northleach—Norleach—Lecce, is a small market town situated in a valley amongst the Cotswold Hills on the east side of the Fosse Way, in the Hundred of Bradley, Gloucestershire, near the source of the little river Leach—Leck—from which it takes its name, the prefix being added to distinguish it from its neighbours—Eastleach Martin, and Eastleach Turville, and South Lecce (now Southrop).

From the close proximity of Northleach to the Fosse Way and its nearness to Ermine Street, the Roman Camp at Norbury in Farmington, and the well-known villa at Chedworth, it would appear probable that a Roman settlement existed here, but of this there is no proof.

King Ethelred gave certain lands in Northleach to the abbey of Gloucester, and this appears to be one of the earliest records of the town. From Domesday Book we learn that "The Church of St. Peter of Glowecefter held Lecce in Bradlege Hundred in the reign of King William," &c.

King Henry III., in 1220, granted a market and two yearly fairs on the feasts of St. Peter and St. Paul, the patron saints of the church. In the reign of Henry IV. the Prior of Lanthony held land in Northleach, and also an inn called "The Crown," which were afterwards granted to Sir Baptist Hickes.

The manor of Northleach continued in the abbey of Gloucester until the dissolution, when it was granted to lay hands, and passed into the Dutton family in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Northleach, by reason of its wool trade, was of considerable importance, the height of its prosperity being reached in the fifteenth century, but owing to the lack of sufficient water to meet the increased demand of manufacture, it gradually declined, the trade being transferred to the Stroud valley and other districts. *Northleach*, as might be expected, left as it is high and dry away from modern civilisation in the way of railways and industries, is full of charm and delight. Old houses and quaint "bits" abound, and if some of them are not of high architectural order, yet they are certainly interesting.

The market-place is quite one of the most delightful in the district, with its setting of gabled houses and stone-tiled roofs. On the upper side (west), and near to the present post office, originally stood the market-house, which we are informed from an old description of it, was an "ancient structure supported by columns," and it would seem

Page 4.

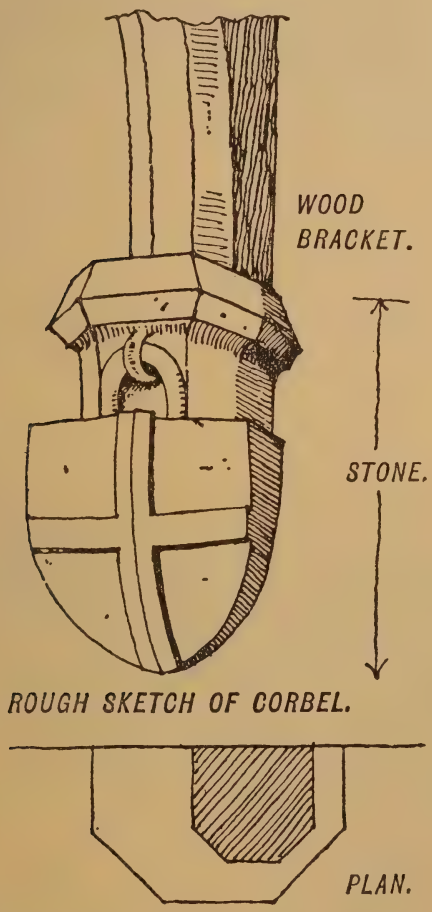
THE MARKET-PLACE, NORTHLEACH.

Page 7.

THE HOSPITAL OF THOMAS DUTTON, NORTHLEACH.

that the building was in existence in 1804. Close to this was the high cross, said to have been a fine fifteenth-century structure, and a fragment of moulded stone now deposited in the south porch of the church is believed to have belonged to it.

Next to the post office is the old "House of Detention," locally known as the "Blind House," and which was in use until the present police station was erected. It is constructed of thick walls, has a vaulted ceiling of stone, and the bed of wood planks is still *in situ*. It would seem that the earliest mention of a prison in the Court Book is under an entry of 1565, but whether this is the building then referred to cannot be proved.



Corbel supporting Bracket under old Half-timbered House The Green, Northleach.

The post office building itself has the remains of the earlier buildings visible at the rear, as shown by the kitchen chimney arch and a couple of four-centred doorways.

Adjoining the market-place is the Green, in which is situated a very good half timber and stucco house, having a projecting upper story and stone-tiled roof. At the side of the driving way is a stone corbel, as illustrated, on which is a shield bearing a plain device. A similar device to this is on a shield on a boss in the north chapel of the church, and this chapel has been called the "Founder's Chapel," as Thomas Forty (woolstapler) was buried therein, and his brass still remains on the floor; if, therefore, this was the badge of Thomas Forty, there would appear to be little doubt that the house in the Green was his, or belonged to his family.

The back of this house, as seen from the yard, is quite picturesque, and the general appearance of the whole would seem to indicate that it was a woolstapler's house.

Close by on the opposite side of the road is another projecting storied house, while at the top of the Green is a seventeenth-century house—Laverack's Great House—which appears to have been quite modernised, and is now known as "The College."

Northleach, situated as it is on the main road from Gloucester to London, was a great coaching centre, and possessed several inns, some of large size, and, judging from the remains, of considerable architectural interest. The old coaching route for through coaches left the present road by Puesdown Inn, and, keeping on the high ground, skirted the town, and joined the road again some little distance on the Burford side, by this means avoiding the hills into Northleach.

With the advent of the railways in the last century the need of the large inns disappeared; they were then altered and adapted for shops and dwellings, and unfortunately thoroughly "modernised" at the same time. The principal one of these inns was known as the "Sherborne Arms," and prior to that it was called "The Lamb." It is situated on the main road in the centre of the town, and is the original "Great House" given by William Dutton in 1619, together with £200, for the use of the poor. The house before it was converted into an inn was used as a store for wool and cloth, and previous to that it was let piece-meal to seventeen tenants, who occupied on the condition of vacating if a clothier or weaver in fustians applied. The front of the house has been much altered; an archway is still existing, in the spandrel of which are the remains of what appear to have been a Tudor rose. In the side wall facing the lane is a long range of old buildings, in which is a two-light window of Tudor form, terminating at the end with a gable of quite mediæval outline, having buttresses of fifteenth-century

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THE GREEN, NORTHLEACH.

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ENTRANCES TO THE GREEN AND THE MARKET-PLACE, NORTHLEACH.

View taken from the bottom of Burford Street.

character. As the "Great House" was not built until 1619, it would appear that these are earlier buildings, or else, which is more probable, that the Tudor forms prevailed very late in this town.

The back of these buildings, as seen from the inside, possesses some timber framing and the remains of what seems to have been a fine stone chimney. Much of the old stabling has been pulled down.

Opposite the "Great House" are two old Cotswold houses, with stone-mullioned windows.

Near by is the "Royal Oak," probably of early eighteenth-century date, which possesses a panelled room and carved oak stair, both of the usual eighteenth-century type.

Just beyond this, up the Burford Street, in a side-walk, is a portion of the head of a cusped window and label termination, built in the gable of the building, probably of late fifteenth-century date.

A little higher up the street is a projecting gabled house, the front of which is boarded up; behind these boards the old timbers remain, while stone corbels below show that the gable was once supported on brackets. At the rear of this are the remains of an old cloth factory, once much more extensive than at present, having two corbels built into the wall and the marks of a staircase. One wonders whether this is the galleried cloth mill mentioned by Rudder.

Further up Burford Street, towards the south end of the town, is a good-sized two-gabled house, possessing mullioned windows and an entrance with a carved mask on the keystone. This is the old manor house, built in the seventeenth century, and is interesting as being the residence of the Parkers, a family that figured prominently in the town affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One, John Parker, lies buried in the south chapel of the church (date 1692).

A few doors above is the hospital of Thomas Dutton, or women's almshouses, erected under the will of Thomas Dutton, in 1616, a truly charming group of tenements. The exterior is most complete, with steeply-pitched gables, string courses, and finials, but the details are somewhat coarse: each doorway gives access to two houses, and the centre one has the initials of the founder, "T. D.," on the shields in the spandrels. The chimneys probably originally terminated with better moulded caps than the present, which appear to be of modern date. The back elevation of this building is very picturesque, and the inside is quite plain: the original oak internal entrance doors remain with their accompanying plain ironwork. Each house contains a brass plate with the letter "D" raised thereon, which was probably worn on the costume of the inmate.

The foregoing is a description of the chief features of the town, and is not complete by any means. Reference can only briefly be made

here to the ancient government of the town, which was vested in a bailiff, with his sergeant-at-mace, six arbitrators, two constables, and two wardsmen, and to the laws and ordinances that they made and enforced, a record of which is to be obtained from the Court Book, which commenced in 1548 and is continued down to the present time, from which an idea of local life in this "praty uplandish town" can be gathered.

That badge of authority, the mace, is still in use, and bears an inscription, " J. M. Fush, Bayliff, 1779."

Extracts from this Court Book were made by the late Rev. D. Royce, published in vol. vii. of the *Transactions*.

Mr. OVERBURY furnished chatty descriptions of many of these places of interest. There was the market-place, with its setting of gabled houses and stone-tiled roofs; and there were houses near by all recalling by-gone associations and times when the town ranked as a great coaching centre. Though the coaches have gone, motor cars flit frequently through the streets, but in a commercial sense they do not take the place of their predecessors.

After luncheon at the Wheat Sheaf Hotel, the members of the Society had a brief business meeting. The President (the Rev. C. S. Taylor) drew attention to the proposed revision of rules, which had been carefully gone through by a sub-committee appointed at a council meeting some months ago. It was proposed to now formally pass the amended rules, and confirm their adoption at the summer meeting, after a full opportunity had been given of considering them. On the motion of Mr. J. McMurtrie, seconded by Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley, this was agreed to.

The visit to the church was reserved till after luncheon, and it was one of especial interest.

Northleach Church belongs to the fifteenth century. A wool merchant, named John Fortey, who died in 1458, is said to have raised the nave and made it much more lightsome and splendid. He seems to have entirely rebuilt the nave, which before had a high-pitched roof, as may be seen by the traces left on the tower. There is nothing else to show what the earlier nave was like. We may suppose that there was a church at Northleach in 1207, when the abbot of Cirencester ceded certain rights over the market-place to the abbot of Gloucester, but there are reasons for thinking that the original church of the parish was not built on the present site. The manor of Lecce is mentioned in Domesday, but the very peculiar divisions of the parish suggest that what is now the hamlet of Eastington was the place where the first church was built. Atkins tells us that there was a ruined chapel there, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and the small plot of ground where it stood is still called the chapel field, and is part of the vicar's glebe.

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NORTHLEACH CHURCH.

The tower seems to be the earliest part of the church; probably it was built soon after 1400. It is one hundred feet high, and very massive and dignified. The lower stages are quite plain, the top stage is decorated with elaborate arcading. There seems to have been an intention of completing it with a spire and corner pinnacles, but it is doubtful whether spire or pinnacles were ever added. The west doorway is deeply recessed, and above it is a four-light window with very solid tracery. The roof is richly vaulted, the bosses represent a choir of angels; of the corbels at the corners one represents a king (probably Henry IV.), and another a bishop. The tower contains a ring of eight bells: six date from the beginning of the eighteenth century, from the foundry of Corrs; the two were added in 1897.

A very beautiful arch opens into the nave. The nave (60 feet long by 26 feet wide, and about 45 feet high) must have been splendid when its grand clerestory was filled with the old glass. The window of nine lights over the east wall is almost too large, and its effect is sadly marred by the shadow of the chancel roof. In the second bay on the north side two brackets project from the pillars: these were probably intended to support a canopy of the builder, John Fortey. His fine brass now lies immediately in front of the entrance to the chancel, but the brass is certainly not on its original slab, and no doubt has been moved. The pulpit is very graceful, though small; it is now disfigured by a heavy stone staircase with a very commonplace iron balustrade. The spandrels of the arches seem to have been painted, and distinct traces of the Annunciation are to be seen in the eastern spandrel on the north side. The plain roof is supported by carved brackets, all differently treated. The north aisle may have been built by the Beauchamp family, whose arms appear in the roof; it is lighted by a series of very fine windows, with remarkable tracery. The doorway of excommunication still preserves the original panelled doors. At the west end of this aisle the font now stands; it is octagonal, each side containing a boldly carved head—probably they represent local celebrities. Its bowl is supported by eight angels, and the pedestal rests on, or rather crushes, eight demons.

In the wall of the north chancel aisle is the staircase leading to the rood-loft. The roof of this chapel (called by Mr. James Brookes the Founder's Chapel) is very richly painted and gilded; on the centre beam is a pulley, which must have served to suspend a light before the altar or (as some think) the pyx. In the roof appear several heraldic shields, one of which is to be seen on an old house in the Green, and is probably that of the Fortey family. The corbels should be noticed, as being portraits of former parishioners.

The chancel (48 feet long) has suffered greatly from restoration.

Its roof is very unworthy of the church. The chancel arch is spoilt by a settlement which must have taken place whilst the church was being built; its defects were, however, hidden by the ancient rood-screen, fragments of which remain to give an idea of its former splendour. Screens, too, divide the chancel from the north and south chapels. High up on the chancel walls are two fragments of pastoral staves, carved in stone, supposed to be connected with the abbots of Gloucester. Some relatives of William Parker, last abbot, lived at Northleach, and he may have been buried in the church, though tradition says that the fine tomb of an ecclesiastic in Notgrove Church was his.

The ancient *mensa* of the high altar is now once more in its place, a fine stone 10 feet by 3 feet by 8 inches. The east window, the tracery of which is very fine, was bricked up for seventy years, and a large altar-piece of painted deal erected in front of it. The present glass is not happy in design or colouring; but in the window to the north of the altar is a beautiful fragment, viz. a flaming sun, a symbol which occurs frequently. A cusped doorway leads into a little sacristy, in which an ancient altar stands *in situ*. This sacristy was used for many years as a charnel house. On the south side are triple sedilia with a graceful carved canopy. Fragments of two magnificent copes are preserved in an altar frontal, one of dark blue velvet and gold brocade in a well-known mediæval pattern, the other of red and gold in early Renaissance style, with the monograms of the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, and the words "*Salva nos*" on label with winged cherubs, &c.

The south chancel aisle was much enlarged in 1489 by the Bicknell family; it is generally called the Lady Chapel. The roof is very poor, dating about 1830. The eastern corbels represent Henry VII. and his Queen. There is a double hagioscope between this chapel and the chancel. In the western wall may be seen traces of the earlier roof.

The south aisle is very elaborate in its decoration; it used to be called the Dutton Aisle, and may have been built by that family. One of the corbels represented a branch with five leaves springing from it, which is very like the five plumes of the Dutton crest. At the east end of the aisle are remains of a magnificent reredos. It was of two stages; in the upper one stood four large statues, and eight small ones in the lower, while two more stood over the arch leading to the Lady Chapel. Evidently there were canopies projecting over each statue, but both canopies and pedestals have gone, leaving only traces of the colour behind the figures. The altar would be enclosed in a screen. On the south side is an aumbry, containing a stone shelf, and below is a beautiful piscina. The windows of this aisle are very beautiful, each has a transom, and in one the cusped heads are delicately carved with foliage on the outside. In the quatrefoil may be seen Tudor roses. In

the eastern window are two figures, one certainly St. Lawrence, the other probably St. Stephen; in the next window one figure remains, probably that of St. John the Evangelist. The roof is very rich (the angels should be specially noted); it was restored with great care in 1902.

The porch is the chief glory of the church, and is perhaps the most beautiful in England. It is of two bays; the vaulting is remarkably pointed for so late a building. Within, on either side, are pedestals supported by grotesque corbels, one of which is the "cat and fiddle." In the centre of the roof of the small bay is the head of our Saviour, with cruciform nimbus. Over the door is a fine niche, in which a statue of St. Peter probably stood, though the church is said to be dedicated in memory of St. Peter and St. Paul. The vaulting has been much injured by stones thrown at birds and bats. Outside, over the doorway, two very dignified statues still remain: the upper one that of the Blessed Trinity, the lower the Virgin and Child; on either side of the latter are niches in which, doubtless, St. Peter and St. Paul were placed, and in the niches on the buttresses were figures of the Evangelists, the winged living creatures which symbolised them being still seen above each niche. Smaller figures are introduced round the statue of the Blessed Trinity, one evidently St. John Baptist, the other a martyr, possibly St. Thomas of Canterbury. In the centre of the porch is a bell turret, in front of which rose the finial of the upper canopy. The porch contains a parvise, reached from the church. The chamber is lighted by four small windows with oaken lattices. It contains a large fireplace with fine mantel, on either side of which are candle brackets; at the back of the fireplace is an oven. The chimney is cleverly carried up the middle pinnacle on the west side. In this chamber are to be seen a few fragments of the numerous screens which once beautified the church. They were formerly painted, red and blue being the chief colours.

The memorial brasses in the church are famous. They have been removed from their original positions, and in some cases have been provided with new slabs; the original slabs were of Purbeck marble. Most of them are memorials to wool merchants, and a sheep and a wool-sack are generally placed beneath their feet. There are eight of them, and they date from 1430 to 1530, but to describe them would double the length of this account. Other monuments in the church are interesting. The splendid church plate has been fully described by the late Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B.

At the church the visitors were received by the Rev. R. C. S. JONES, the vicar, who in a brief address directed attention to the most interesting features of the building. He pointed out that it was entirely of fifteenth-century date, and he spoke of the work that had been done for it by John Fortey, who in 1450 rebuilt the nave to make it more lightsome

and splendid. He mentioned that there were a good many remains of a good many screens in the church, only they were all fragmentary, though they showed how beautiful the screens must have been. He observed that they were proud of the pulpit, which was very beautiful, though extremely small, and some preachers had found great difficulty in making themselves comfortable in it. The font was worthy of special note, as was also some of the glass work in the windows, and he mentioned that the altar had the original high altar stone on the top, a very interesting story attaching to it, whilst in the sacristy was an altar which had never been touched.

What the two representations of pastoral staffs built into the chancel wall were, he could not say with any certainty. There was a tradition that the last abbot (Parker) of Gloucester was buried at Northleach, but he thought he was buried at Notgrove. At any rate, there was a very influential family of Parkers who lived at Northleach in the seventeenth century, and it was to them that they were indebted for the magnificent set of sacramental plate.

The vicar also mentioned that the original high altar stone of the church, now used as a communion table, was found in the altar piece when the chancel was restored in 1874. It was then moved about for some time, and the former vicar, in order that it should not be profaned, buried it. There was a tradition that it was somewhere near the porch, and about five years ago he had the fortune to find it. It was about half a ton in weight. The Bishop's Chancellor insisted that it must be moveable, so it was placed on the table, and not on stone. In the sacristy was an altar which had never been moved.

The PRESIDENT warmly thanked the Vicar for receiving the members, and for his interesting remarks.

Mr. F. F. FOX (Chairman of the Council) said he was sure the members all agreed that it was a magnificent church in every meaning of the word, and it was ornamented by some extremely interesting brasses.

In answer to a question, the vicar said that nearly all the brasses were those of merchants, but there was one near the altar which was that of a priest.

In the vestry the members examined with much interest a number of early coins found in the locality, and the exquisite communion vessels, of which the vicar is so justly proud. Of this plate, Mr. Wilfrid Cripps' account to the Society is printed in Vol. VII. of the *Transactions* of the Society (1882–83).

One circumstance which demonstrates the former importance of the town was that no fewer than five traders issued private tokens during the Commonwealth, owing to the glorious fleece of the Cotswold sheep; and several very fine specimens were shown by Mr. Pritchard.

After the visit to Northleach Church had been concluded, the brakes were again entered, and a lovely drive taken to the Roman villa at Chedworth. Passing along the Fosse Road, a sharp turn was taken to the right, and skirting the picturesque woods of Chedworth, which belong to Lord Eldon, the famous Roman villa was reached. Here the party had the advantage of having this interesting relic of the Roman occupation described to them by Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

When the members had assembled round him at a point of vantage from which the whole ground plan, as far as it is exposed, could be viewed, Mr. Baddeley remarked that at that moment they were at one of the four first-rate villas which had "turned up" in the British Isles. Chedworth ranked after Woodchester only in that respect. Speaking as to the antiquity of the villa, Mr. Baddeley went on to say that the Roman occupation of Britain unquestionably began with the making of camps; secondly, it was followed by the making of roads; and long after the making of roads, by the building of villas such as that the remains of which they were viewing. Consequently, to seek to place the dates of the first century to such villas was a great mistake. Nothing had turned up of any kind except the imperfect witness of coins to prove that any one of these villas in the whole country was of such a date. There at Chedworth and over at Withington the villas appeared to belong to the third century.

The first thing they expected in the situation of a Roman villa was the choosing of a site which should be sheltered carefully from the east wind and the north. The Chedworth villa was, he believed, the only one he had ever seen in France or England in which the domestic premises were facing east on very high ground. In the gully in which it stood between two descending hills it could catch every blast. That was as un-Roman as could be; therefore it behoved them to seek for the real reason why it was placed there. It certainly was not for its good situation in respect of comfort; but it was chosen for reasons which careful scrutiny would make perfectly clear. There was a good supply of water from the hill behind, which they might in imagination clear of the wood. On the top of the wood was a great ancient entrenchment, showing that the site had conditions which were appreciated by the people in the locality before the Romans—perhaps the people of the late Bronze Age. In addition to that there had turned up in the geological strata a break full of fuller's earth. That fuller's earth, the water supply, and the great set of chambers on the north side of the villa told them pretty straight that the villa was worked as a fulling establishment. It appeared to him clear that the whole of the premises on the north side had been devoted to dyeing and bleaching and the raising of the "nap" on cloth with hedgehog skins, all of which were operations which would

pertain to a Roman cloth-making establishment. When they granted that as a working hypothesis—and there was really very good evidence in its support—they saw at a single glance how very much older the cloth-making trade was in the Cotswolds than anyone might imagine it to be.

There was a perfect set of baths for the house, and the furnaces outside were in good working order. There were also large and good third-century mosaic pavements to various compartments. All that was needed to make the three sides of the courtyard of the villa fairly complete was the staff rooms, which were on the south side, but these had all gone, and were covered by the road.

As to the upper chambers, he was sorry to say that they had no authority to say much about them. The probabilities were that in a timber country the lower chambers were built up carefully of hewn stone, and that the upper stories were constructed entirely of timber, which would account for their having universally perished. But the roof tiles were all over the place, and Lord Eldon had used them to preserve the wall. The tiles were second rate, and there were very much better ones in many Gloucestershire villas. Probably the place was retiled at a very late date.

Discussing the question of the decay of such villas, Mr. Baddeley said the general story was that when the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain in 410 the country was plunged into chaos immediately. This he believed was quite contrary to the fact, nor was it true that everything went to pieces. There was proof, though scanty, in the literature of the fourth and fifth centuries that there were considerable economic crises in the provinces of the Roman Empire, especially Britain and Gaul, and the constant habit of sub-leasing these villas and the decay of authority over labour was very largely responsible for the decay of villa life. After the legions went away from Gloucestershire there were still one hundred and fifty years to be accounted for before the Saxon ever put his Teutonic foot in the county, and they had every reason to suppose that what had been the traditional Romano-British life, with its trade at Corinum (Cirencester) and Glevum (Gloucester), went on very much as it had done before until the battle of Deorham. They found from inscriptions on bricks and other pottery that the common labourers in the brickfields and potteries wrote in Latin—no doubt degenerate Latin, but it showed how very complete the Roman civilisation was.

Edicts of Diocletian and others proved that cloth was one of the chief products of Southern Britain, and this, with wheat, iron, and coal, formed the chief exports into Gaul. It would be understood how important it was to have a supply of "creta fullonia" (fuller's earth) at hand at that villa, for it took the place of soap in those times for cleaning purposes. The pigs of iron found at Chedworth probably represented that which

was taken in exchange for the cloth and brought from Cirencester, with which the villa was connected by road. The date of the villa was practically shown by the style of the mosaics and the masonry, and might be put down to the third century. It belonged strictly to what was known as the courtyard type, and although much of interest has been found, further excavations would no doubt result in further discoveries.

After Mr. St. Clair Baddeley's interesting disquisition, the company adjourned to the lawn, where tea was served, its cheering warmth proving very welcome after the cool drives and the searching of those winds from which Mr. Baddeley had pointed out that by some great exception the villa was not sheltered.

After tea the museum, where are stored many of the "finds" made in the excavation of the villa, was visited. Among many other interesting objects carefully collected here are numerous bronze fibulæ (safety pins) and buckles, iron hinges, beads, enamelled articles, a big millstone, many stag horns, scallop and other fish shells, a domestic altar, a stone cross (by some supposed to indicate that the Christian religion was known at the villa, though antiquaries, knowing the prevalence of the emblem in other connections, do not entirely agree in this conclusion), and many other articles, altogether making a long and interesting catalogue. Not to be forgotten in this connection are the shells of the great edible snails of the Romans which, surviving the conquering race by whom they were cultivated, have remained to bear testimony to its occupation, for these snails still flourish around Chedworth villa, as indeed in the locality of many of the Roman villas in all parts of the country—*sic transit gloria mundi*, and such is the tenacity of the snail, a fact which to illustrate one needs only have a pet plant in his flower garden!

Later the members gathered round Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, who acted as guide and expositor to the series of buildings which he deduces to have been the home of the Romano-British fulling establishment which provided its *raison d'être*. First Mr. Baddeley pointed out the proximity of the reservoir to a series of vats, the latter of which he thought must have been used for the washing of the cloth, and he ridiculed the idea that such receptacles could have been slaves' baths. Further, the next compartment was fitted with hot-air pipes under the floor, indicating its use for drying purposes. The floor of the compartments adjoining the drying room had been supported by a great number of short monoliths arranged in rows, and which still remain *in situ*, like the columns of some unroofed pigmy temple. Why, asked Mr. Baddeley, should a floor require such a clustering of supports like these but that it was subjected to unusual weights? His deduction—always in keeping with the cloth-making hypothesis—was that this had been the press room.

And then just a special word for the ladies, whom he was able to inform that, from inscriptions which had turned up at Winchester and elsewhere, it was clear that women were employed in the cloth-making industries; so that they had, perhaps, before them evidence of the way in which a great number of the women of Romano-British families were employed.

Reverting to the great block of pig iron projecting from the path at the corner of the modern villa, Mr. Baddeley reminded the party that it was probable that in all the great Roman villas they had their smiths, just as later on this was the case in the mediæval castle. Or if they went to Russia at the present day, they would find in the country houses they had their leather worker, their carpenter, &c., and other methods of a thoroughly feudal life. After they had been in a country house a week or two they might be surprised at hearing noises beneath their floor, and discover that half a dozen people were imprisoned there, of whose existence they had not previously dreamt—such being the feudal system in those regions. In the old Romano-British days, if the occupiers of a villa wanted spears, hooks, swords, &c., the man on the spot who acted as smith broke off a bit from the pig and worked it up.

Before concluding the round of the "factory" portion of the building, Mr. Baddeley remarked that the whole set of buildings along to the east (by some thought to have been dwellings, and by others stables) were certainly far too big to have been Romano-British dwelling-rooms. He also said that according to the ordinary laws of symmetry there would have been a range of buildings running exactly on the spot where the road to the villa now ran. During the afternoon he had been walking in the wood, and came upon indications which he thought could only be those of an ancient track, which he thought was very interesting, for he had never seen it marked on any chart. It was very clear, except that it was overgrown with trees. It had come right across the cutting of the railway, and he thought by carefully examining the cutting one would be able to follow out something. The exact track by which the villa was connected with its own main track by Whiteway would be very interesting to know.

One thing certain about the buildings was that the series he regarded as devoted to fulling, with their tanks, pilæ, &c., were abnormal to the usual villa, so that they had only to cast about for a cause. They had a whole wing of the villa apparently devoted to one particular set of purposes, and there was not a single thing against them in their hypothesis. They only wanted a little more explanation, and he thought that one of these days the missing implements necessary to carry on the fulling industry would turn up. They wanted more combs. They could not have the hedgehog skins, but they might at least find a number of

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WITHINGTON CHURCH.

small mills and fixings, which could be identified. This hypothesis, said Mr. Baddeley in conclusion, had all grown out of the very smart scrutiny of Mr. Fox and Mr. St. John Hope in the course of the Silchester excavations.

A member asked how long this new theory had been originated, and Mr. Baddeley stated that he believed it occurred to Mr. Fox as far back as 1898, when he found at Silchester arrangements exactly like those at Chedworth for dyeing—vats which he identified very speedily, because in Pompeii they had discovered a whole dyeing establishment. The general comparison of all the villas that had been explored in France and England during thirty years had all tended to show that the Romano-British villa had little in common with anything of which they knew in Italy. Its relationship was really to the Romano-Gallic villa in France. They must remember that in England the house was started against damp and cold, whereas the Italian villa started against heat and light. What was so abnormal at Chedworth was that in a bleak situation it faced to the east, whereas the normal villa in England faced south.

A drive through hilly country brought the party to Withington, and a halt was made to visit St. Michael's Church.

The Society last visited this church in July, 1889, and in the *Transactions* for that year is the following account by the late Professor Middleton :—

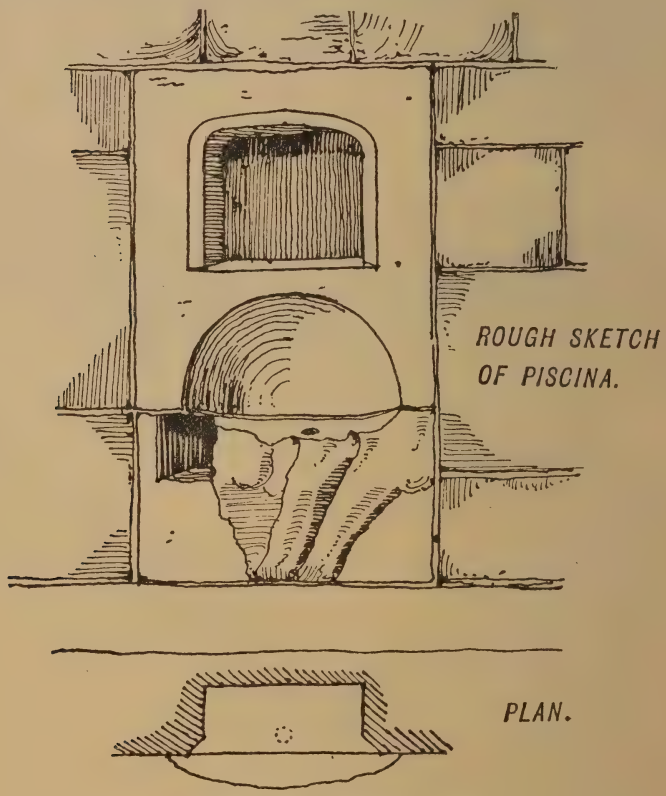
"The church is exceptionally interesting, and has in many respects followed the rule of development commonly seen in English parish churches. Originally a small Norman church consisting of simply nave and chancel, built about 1160, as evidenced by the extreme richness of mouldings of south door.

"Early in the thirteenth century the chancel seems to have been extended, and the central tower partly rebuilt. In the fourteenth century the upper part of the beautiful central tower was built and the south transept, which contains a beautiful Decorated window, added. An unusual feature is that early in the thirteenth century the chevron moulding of a round arch was reused in construction of a pointed arch in the north wall of the chancel. A clerestory and large west window date from the fifteenth century. A rare feature is to be seen on the north side of the chancel, where there is a recess made to hold a small lead cistern, which unfortunately is not in its original position, and was probably altered when moved. The water was drawn from the cistern in the recess by a pipe and tap. The carved stone boss with a central hole through which the pipe passed still exists. In monastic churches these little cistern recesses are not uncommon, but in parish churches they are very rare. A very similar example is to be seen in the north wall of the sanctuary of Highworth Church, in Wiltshire. The use of this supply of

water was probably for the washing of the chalice, paten, and other sacred vessels."

With regard to the date of the tower, one wonders if Professor Middleton had documentary proof of the date of its erection, as from its general appearance, possessing as it does four centre arched belfry lights filled in with Perpendicular tracery, panelled buttresses at the angles, and other Perpendicular features, one would certainly consider it to be of fifteenth-century date.

Inside the church, towards the east end of the nave and on the south side, is a tomb recess of Decorated work adorned with cusped tracery, pinnacles, crockets, and ball flower enrichments, but the effigy is missing. The adjoining eastern window of the nave, which is of fifteenth-century date, originally had no internal sill, and there was consequently a window recess the whole width and depth of the internal jambs, in which is a mutilated piscina, with its stone shelf, apparently of fifteenth-century



Mutilated Piscina in south wall of Nave.

work. As a rood-loft originally existed (the blocked-up doorway is still visible), it would appear that this piscina was for the southern altar against the screen.

The nave is of five bays, each containing a three-light Perpendicular clerestory window, while the remains of the Norman sill-courses of the original windows below are still visible, as are also the remains of the Norman windows and sill-course on the external face of the west wall. On the south wall of the nave inside at the west end is a Renaissance monument, of about the middle of the seventeenth century, to the Howe family, who then lived at Compton Cassey. It would seem that this monument was originally in the south transept, which belongs to Compton Cassey, and was the burying-place of that family. In the south wall of the transept is a little pointed arched opening with stone tympanum, probably a piscina, but the sill is now cemented over.

The chancel has three single-light Early English cusped windows, and the eastern one on the north side is tapering, being wider at the sill than at the springing, an unusual feature. Externally, the corbel eaves course of the chancel claims attention, and also the elaborate late Norman south door, with its two orders of columns and beautiful enrichments.

The north doorway, which is now blocked, has chevron moulding and a plain tympanum.

Assuming that the Chedworth villa was desolated or ceased to be inhabited soon after the battle of Dyrham, in 577, little more than a century elapsed before a Christian church was founded at Withington; and as the early history of this church illustrates very clearly the nature of the family monasteries which played so important a part in the early days of the English Church,[1] it is worth while to relate it here. In 736 or 737 a synod of the Province of Canterbury was held, over which Nothelm, the Archbishop, presided, and at which were present the Bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, London, Worcester, Rochester, Lindsey, Hereford, and two Bishops of Sherborne—Forthere, consecrated after the death of St. Aldhelm in 709, who departed to Rome in 737, and Herewald, consecrated in his place in 736. The attendance was a very full one; Ethelfrith was consecrated to the See of Elmham in 736, possibly after the date of this synod; Sigga is said to have been consecrated to Selsey in 733, but no signature of his appears before 737; and though Bede mentions the See of Dunwich as existing in 731, the name of no bishop can be found as presiding over it at this date. It would seem likely, therefore, that all the bishops of the province were present, with the possible exception of Sigga. Among the business decided at the gathering was a dispute concerning the minster at Withington.[2] Ethelred, King of the Mercians, by the desire of Oshere

[1] *Transactions*, xx. 294.

[2] K., *C. D.*, lxxxii.; *Cart. Sax.*, 156.

Subregulus of the Hwiccians, had granted twenty cassates near the river Tillath or Colne to two holy women—Dunne and her daughter Bucga—for the foundation of a monastery. On her death-bed, Dunne left this minster to her granddaughter, Hrotwari, but because the girl was not yet of full age, she committed the title-deeds and the guardianship of the minster to the child's mother. When Hrotwari came of age, however, the mother refused to give up the title-deeds, alleging that they had been stolen. The synod ordered that the deeds should be given up to Hrotwari, and that she should be put in possession of the minster; also they anathematised the one who stole the deeds. Furthermore, they decreed that after the death of Hrotwari the estate should pass to Worcester Cathedral, in accordance with the purpose of the founders of the minster. The story is taken up in a charter of Milred, Bishop of Worcester, dated 774,[1] by which the land of Withington Minster, which Dunne had left to her granddaughter Hrothware, with the knowledge and consent of Bishop Ecgwin, and which she had surrendered to Bishop Milred, was granted by him to the Abbess Æthelburga, daughter of Alfred, for her life, with reversion to the cathedral at Worcester, It is to be noted that Milred annexed a condition to his signature of the document that Æthelburga should endow the cathedral with all her goods after her death, according to the command of Alfred her father. Another document which may possibly bear on the history of Withington is a charter of 772, by which King Offa granted land at Evenlode to the thegn Ridda, his wife Bucga, and their daughter Heburg.[2]

Ethelred reigned over the Mercians from 675 to 704, and Oshere was under-King of the Hwiccians for about the last twenty years of his reign; we cannot be far wrong, then, if we place the foundation of Withington Minster between 680 and 704, or about a century and a quarter after the battle of Dyrham. St. Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, died on December 30th, 717, and if, as is likely, the dispute concerning Withington was settled soon after Hrotwari came of age, she would have been born about 714, and would have been about sixty years old when she surrendered her charge to Bishop Milred. The dates fit in very well with the details of the story narrated in the documents. Really the only uncertain point is the cause of the disappearance of Bucga, who may have died, or been married, or left the neighbourhood, or either in some way have become ineligible for the office of abbess, or of her own free will have renounced her claim. At any rate, it is clear that during the lifetime of Dunne Bucga's right to succeed had lapsed, and that Dunne, with the leave of St. Ecgwin, nominated a child, and apparently quite a young child—*in parvula adhuc ætate posita*—in her room. Hrotwari may, or may not, have been the daughter of Bucga;

[1] K., *C. D.*, cxxiv.; *Cart. Sax.*, 217. [2] K., *C. D.*, cxx.; *Cart. Sax.*, 209, 210.

she may have been the child of some other son or daughter of Dunne; and it is quite an assumption that it was Bucga who was guilty of the fraudulent attempt to keep her daughter out of her inheritance. It is, of course, possible that Bucga, who was wife of Ridda in 772, may have been the daughter of Dunne, and that it was by her marriage that she forfeited her right to succeed to Withington, but in this case she must have been well advanced in years by that time.

Two or three years before the date of the synod in which the dispute concerning Withington was settled, the Venerable Bede had written in very severe terms to Egbert, Bishop of York, with regard to the abuses of these family monasteries,[1] and ten years later, at the Council of Cloveshoe, some very sharp canons were passed with a view to enforcing right discipline, and even common decency of living among their inmates.[2] But how deeply the system was ingrained into the life of the people is shown by the fact that so good a prelate as St. Ecgwin recognised the right of succession of a child, who did not succeed to her abbacy till some twenty years after his death. It is not at all unlikely, indeed, that the grant of Withington by Bishop Milred to the Abbess Æthelburga in 774 was also an instance of the operation of this hereditary principle. She was, as the charter states, the daughter of Alfred, and about 780 Aldred, Subregulus of the Hwiccians, granted to his kinswoman (probably sister) Æthelburga, the minster at Fladbury, with reversion to Worcester Cathedral, stating that this was the trust—*præceptum*—of Alfred and Ethelheard and Bishop Ecgwin, "who first obtained this estate and handed it down to us."[3] Æthelburga was the daughter of Alfred, and it is likely that he was the son of Ethelheard, and he of Oshere,[4] in which case Æthelburga would have entered on the inheritance of the estate at Withington which her great-grandfather Oshere had granted to Dunne some eighty years before. If this were so, it is a striking instance of the tenacity of the hold which was maintained over these family minsters. The date of the death of Æthelburga is not known, but a copy of the land-boundaries of Withington is extant dating from about 800[5] which may have been drawn up when the estate came into the possession of Worcester Cathedral.

Withington remained in the possession of the See of Worcester till 1552, when it was alienated for awhile under the following circumstances:—Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was committed to the Fleet Prison on March 4th, 1550, and was deprived of his See for contempt of the Privy Council on October 10th, 1551. On March 8th, 1552, John Hooper was consecrated to the See of Gloucester, which he resigned

1 *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 319–21.
2 *Ibid.*, iii. 362. 3 K., *C. D.*, cxlvi.; *Cart. Sax.*, 238.
4 *Transactions*, xx. 285. 5 *Cart. Sax.*, 299.

into the king's hands on April 26th following, the resignation being confirmed by the Dean and Chapter on May 20th. On May 20th also the king by letters patent converted the See of Gloucester into an archdeaconry dependent on the See of Worcester, and appointed Hooper to the bishopric of Worcester, with all the endowments belonging to the See.[1] On December 8th, however, another arrangement was made by letters patent. The See of Gloucester was revived, and Hooper was appointed Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, but the estates of Hartlebury, Fladbury, Ripple, Bredon and Withington were omitted from the grant of the endowments of the united dioceses.[2] However, as Hooper had accepted his bishopric to be held only during good behaviour, he was deposed on March 15th, 1554, and in July Bishop Heath was restored to his See, and no doubt received back the alienated estates, or such of them as had not been granted away. So it is that, with the exception of eighteen months, Withington has been Church property for more than eleven hundred years.

The thirty miles' drive over the Cotswolds was concluded when the members arrived in Cheltenham about seven o'clock, everyone agreeing that the excursion had been of a delightful character, and giving one a glimpse of a part of the country which to many previously had been an unknown land. The success of the excursion was assisted by the admirable way in which the programme was carried out, and for this great praise is due to Mr. John E. Pritchard, the hon. secretary for Bristol, who is a past master in this kind of work. Special thanks are also due to the Rev. R. C. S. Jones and Mr. Overbury for most kind help at Northleach, and to Mr. St. Clair Baddeley for the address which made the remains of the Chedworth villa a living reality to all those who were privileged to hear it.

1 Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i. 560. 2 Rudder, p. 839.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS
At the Annual Summer Meeting,
At Cirencester,
Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, July 16th, 17*th, and* 18*th,* 1907.

The Society had paid at least three visits to Cirencester before the present occasion. The first visit was in 1887, under the presidency of the late Earl Bathurst. In 1892 there was a joint meeting of the Society and the Wilts archæologists, Mr. Wilfrid Cripps being president. In 1896 the Society came to see the supposed Saxon village on Lord Biddulph's estate, but it was evident from the statement of Canon Bazeley that the village belonged to the Romano-British period. An illustration of the importance of Cirencester in the seventeenth century is afforded in the fact that there were twenty-six varieties of traders' tokens in the town, no fewer than nineteen of the most interesting being now in the possession of Mr. J. E. Pritchard, by whom three of these were exhibited during the meeting. Arrangements for another visit of the Society to the town and certain localities within moderate driving distances were made, and on Tuesday the three days' meeting was opened, Mr. Edward C. Sewell kindly acting as local hon. secretary.

Delightful weather favoured the gathering, the dull greyness of early morning speedily giving place to brilliant sunshine. The sky was cloudless throughout the day, there was a genial warmth in the air, and conditions prevailed under

which Cirencester and its charming surroundings were seen at their best.

Among those present at the opening meeting were the retiring president (the Rev. C. S. Taylor), the president for the year (Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley), the president of the Council (Mr. Francis F. Fox), the hon. general treasurer (Mr. G. M. Currie), the hon. secretary for Bristol (Mr. John E. Pritchard), the hon. general secretary (Mr. M. G. Lloyd-Baker), and a large number of members and their friends, including many ladies.

The members assembled in the Town Hall (over the south porch of the church) under the chairmanship of the Rev. C. S. Taylor (retiring president), where Mr. Lloyd-Baker presented the following report of the Council :—

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society present their report for the year ending July 16th, 1907 :—

There are on the Society's list 530 members, as against 556 at the time of the last annual report. The income of the Society for year ending December 31st, 1906, including a balance of £166 17s. 3d. (£66 17s. 3d. in the treasurer's hands and £100 on deposit at the Society's bankers) on January 1st, 1906, was £524 7s. 9d., and the expenditure £458 12s. 1d., leaving a balance of £65 15s. 8d. The Society also holds consols of the face value of £832 3s. 8d., worth at present price £707 7s. 1d., making total assets £773 2s. 9d.

The treasurer has also in hand a sum subscribed for the testimonial to Canon Bazeley.

The *Transactions* are only issued to members who have paid their subscriptions for the respective year. A new list of members will be issued with the next volume of *Transactions*, and the secretary would be obliged if corrections of addresses, &c., were forwarded to him at once.

Since the presentation of the last report the Society has held two General Meetings—at Bristol, under the presidency of Rev. C. S. Taylor, on July 17th, 18th, 19th, 1906, and at Northleach on May 28th, 1907. The account of the Bristol meeting appeared in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. xxix., part i. The Council desire to acknowledge the courtesy of the Lord Mayor and High Sheriff of Bristol, as well as the generous hospitality of the Society of Merchant Venturers, who entertained them to luncheon in their magnificent hall. The excellent

arrangements for the meeting were made and admirably carried out by Mr. J. E. Pritchard, the hon. secretary for Bristol.

With regard to the Northleach meeting, the Council desire to thank Mr. T. Overbury, who not only prepared the archæological notes on that occasion, but who in every way worked hard to make it a successful day.

The *List of the Gloucestershire Church Plate*, referred to in the last report, has now been issued to all members who subscribed during the years of 1894–5 and 1895–6. Other members may still subscribe for copies (price 15/– each).

The thanks of the Council have been given to the editor, the Rev. J. T. Evans, and his collaborators.

The hon. secretary for Bristol reports that gifts of books have been received during the past year, for the Bristol Library, from the following members :—The President of the Society (Rev. C. S. Taylor), Mr. J. Baker, Mr. J. B. C. Burroughs, Dr. Alfred Harvey, and the hon. Secretary for Bristol (Mr. John E. Pritchard).

The hon. secretary for Bristol wishes to remind members living in the northern part of the county, that as all the valuable books amassed at Bristol just after the foundation of this Society are now located at Gloucester, those members have a very distinct advantage over those in the Bristol district. He therefore appeals to members generally to assist in building up the small Reference Library in Bristol, founded in 1904, of which a first list was printed in the last part of the *Transactions*, by contributing volumes for the shelves.

Four winter evening meetings were held in Bristol last session, and several of the papers read will appear in the *Transactions*. This movement is self-supporting, and the surplus from the subscriptions is being devoted to the purchase of the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, of which one volume has recently been issued.

The hon. secretary for Bristol gladly reports that by the vote of the City Council on the 23rd of October last, it was decided by fifty votes to fourteen to retain the old timber house—known as the "Dutch House"—*in situ ;* but he has to report with regret that "Langton's House," which was visited by the Society last year, was demolished and removed from the city by the end of 1906. This interesting structure will be described and illustrated in an early volume of the *Transactions*.

The Bristol members are still pressing for the formation of an "Architectural Court" at the Museum and Art Gallery, as most valuable specimens are continually being lost to the city, often by wanton neglect. As a first acknowledgment of this requirement, the Museum Committee has set aside a room in the basement of the Museum and Art Gallery for the reception of such relics, but this can only be regarded as a

temporary expedient towards meeting what is a definite necessity. That a provincial museum should firstly house everything of local historic interest is an axiom immovable as the heavens.

Three winter evening meetings were held at Gloucester, and were well attended.

During the past year the following discoveries have been made :—

In April last, during some alterations to the churchyard of St. Mary's, Newent, the workmen had occasion to remove a stone block which for many years had protruded some eighteen inches above ground. After considerable excavation, the block was drawn up, and proved to be a portion of the shaft of a free standing cross. On the face of the fragment, which measures 4 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 4 inches by 10 inches, may be seen a sculptured representation of the temptation and fall of man. On either side of the tree of knowledge, round which a serpent is twining, stand the figures of Adam and Eve, &c. On the back of the stone is represented the sacrifice of Isaac. On one side is possibly David cutting off the head of Goliath, and on the other is a curious beast with some entwined foliage or interlacing ropework. The sculpture is pre-Norman, and in the opinion of Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., of early Saxon execution, probably eighth century, thoroughly Mercian in character, and showing decided Northumbrian influence. The stone is a coarse grey sandstone, almost a gritstone.

To Mr. C. H. Dancey, of Gloucester, the Council are indebted for the following description of the finding of a Roman coin at Barnwood, near Gloucester. In May last, whilst digging for gravel, some workmen discovered a skeleton, perfect in all respects with the exception of the left foot, which was missing. The skeleton was that of a man about 5 feet 6 inches high, and between 25 and 30 years of age. Attached to the right wrist was an iron bangle, and amongst the remains was a coin. It is of brass, weighs one ounce, and is 4½ inches in circumference, and bears the image and superscription of the Emperor Domitian. The spot where it was found is close to the Roman road from Gloucester to Cirencester, known as the Ermine Way.

There has also been a very important find of bronze celts near the Fosse Way at Lower Slaughter, and three of them have been purchased for the Society.

The Council regret the loss by death of Sir Brook Kay (a former President of the Society, and for many years one of its most valued supporters), of Mr. H. A. Prothero (local secretary for Cheltenham), Mr. P. Baylis (local secretary for Forest of Dean), Mr. W. Leigh, General Hale, Mr. J. R. Horner, Mr. E. C. Little, Mr. Wm. Maclaine, The Rev. Canon Stackhouse (local secretary for Berkeley), and Mr. George Trower.

The Council has held six meetings during the year, four at Gloucester

and two at Bristol, and they desire to express their obligation to the Lord Mayor of Bristol for the use of the old Council Chamber.

The Council desire to nominate for re-election the President of the Council, the Vice-Presidents of the Society, the General Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Secretary for Bristol, and the Local Secretaries.

The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: Canon Ellacombe, G. S. Blakeway, H. Medland, C. H. Dancey, R. Hall Warren, Dr. A. Harvey, and E. Conder.

The Council cannot close this report without a reference to the retirement of Canon Bazeley. For twenty-nine years Canon Bazeley has held the post of Honorary General Secretary, and during that period has spared neither time nor trouble in the interests of the Society. To his untiring zeal and devotion is due in no small measure the position which the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society holds amongst kindred societies at the present time. Whilst taking leave of him as General Secretary, the Council consider that they are fortunate in retaining him as one of their number, in which position, both from his great knowledge and long experience, his advice cannot fail to be of the greatest service.

Dr. SHINGLETON SMITH, in moving the adoption of the report, said such excellent work as the Council had done in the past, such good work as they were doing in the present, and such a degree of activity manifested and the balance at the bank, were things they had to contemplate with pleasure.

Major WRIGHT seconded the resolution, which was carried.

On the proposition of the MAYOR OF GLOUCESTER, seconded by Mr. R. H. CARPENTER, the retiring members of the Council were re-elected.

The out-going President proposed the confirmation of a revision of rules which had been passed at the Northleach meeting, and had, as a matter of form, to be brought forward a second time. Speaking of his work as Editor of the *Transactions*, he referred in appreciative terms to the reports, extremely well prepared, which he received every year for publication from Mr. Pritchard, and he emphasised the value of such co-operation on the part of local secretaries.

Mr. BOWLEY seconded the motion, which was adopted.

The President then left the chair, and Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley, the new President, took his place.

The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR said they had had many presidents who did their work extremely well, and some whose names were not simply known in their county but throughout England, and now they had a president who had a reputation outside England. He was sure that Mr. Baddeley would do good work, and that they would spend a pleasant and profitable year under his presidency.

Canon SINCLAIR proposed a vote of thanks to the Rev. C. S. Taylor for the able manner in which he had acted as president, and also for his care in editing the *Transactions*.

Mr. F. F. TUCKETT seconded the resolution, and it was cordially adopted.

Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY then returned thanks for his election. He referred to the accomplished gentlemen who had preceded him in the office, and said he would specify only two—one Sir John Maclean, and the other the Rev. C. S. Taylor. He specially directed attention to the researches of the Rev. C. S. Taylor, and said besides his investigations in two old dark periods he had written a very useful volume, which they knew as the *Domesday of Gloucestershire*. He felt that they had done him (the speaker) great honour in electing him to the Rev. C. S. Taylor's place. There had been mention made of discoveries which the local secretaries should forward to the general secretary or editor, and it struck him that he had not done what he should have done in reporting interesting discoveries. He adverted to some rolls of the fifteenth century which came into his hands at Painswick, and stated that the names therein appearing identified some Roman roads, so that information was brought forth from dusty documents.

The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR thanked the assembly for the resolution recognising his services as president.

Mr. F. F. TUCKETT said the endeavour of the Bishop of Bath and Wells in respect to Glastonbury Abbey came before the Council of the Society, and it was thought it would be a graceful act if those in a neighbouring county could testify

their sympathy and approval of the Bishop's undertaking by some sort of communication to him, and offering a donation towards the completion of the fund he was raising. He (the speaker) was recommended to bring the matter before that meeting.

The PRESIDENT said they all felt sympathy with the Bishop under his heavy responsibility, for Glastonbury Abbey should be a national monument. It was not like a second-rate ruin, but was a monument for all time. If they could see their way to give further consideration to the subject during the coming month, their sympathy might perhaps take the form of a little presentation, but he did not think the Society could advance any large sum for an object outside the county.

Mr. E. J. SWANN proposed that the Council be authorised, if they thought fit, to make a donation to the fund for the preservation of Glastonbury Abbey.

The PRESIDENT thought gentlemen, apart from the Council, might arrange to give something which would, in some sense, express the feeling of the Society.

Mr. C. BOWLY advised them to reflect that they had matters in their own county which required funds.

Mr. H. W. BRUTON proposed that they should contribute twenty guineas.

Mr. J. MCMURTRIE said there seemed in their rules to be no provision for anything of the kind outside the county.

Mr. F. F. FOX gave some particulars of a visit he had paid to Mr. F. J. Fry, near Chard, in Somerset. Mr. Fry told him that the Bishop had rendered himself liable for £15,000, but already £3,000 had come to hand, and there was a prospect more would follow. There was no hurry; let them wait and see what Somerset was going to do about the balance.

Mr. J. BAKER pointed out that Mr. Swann's motion was simply of a permissive character, and left matters in the hands of the Council. The abbey was a national monument and appealed to them all, and the Council might give a small donation, and so help.

In further discussion the suggestion was made that the Society might use their influence in the direction of the abbey being acquired as a national memorial, and thus relieve the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The PRESIDENT thought they might postpone action until they found the Bishop had any difficulty in meeting the responsibility. He thought the recent contribution of £100 by the Queen would give the movement an impetus.

Mr. TUCKETT expressed himself content, now the subject had been ventilated, to let it stand over for the present, if that were wished.

The discussion thereupon terminated.

After luncheon the members spent a pleasant afternoon in visiting various places of interest in the historic town. Naturally, the first pilgrimage was to the handsome parish church, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. Canon SINCLAIR, who described the church and acted as guide. The members then proceeded to the abbey grounds, to inspect the Roman capital and the abbey grounds and gateway, permission having been kindly granted by Mr. T. Kingscote. A short walk, and the ruins of St. John's Hospital were reached. Mr. E. C. SEWELL gave some particulars of the hospital, and the party also inspected the site of St. Thomas's Hospital. One of the principal places visited during the afternoon was the Corinium Museum, the fine tessellated pavements discovered in 1849, in Dyer Street, being described by Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOWLY. They were removed in blocks, together with the concrete on which they were laid, and were transferred to their present position, when the building was ready to receive them. Both pavements are of high quality, the larger one at the western end of the room being of singular merit in design and excellent in execution. They are both probably the work of the first quarter of the second century. The principal pavement originally consisted, in its perfect form, of nine medallions, each nearly five feet in diameter, and included in octagonal frames, formed of a twisted guilloche, in which bright red and yellow tessellæ prevailed. Within all the octagons, with the exception of the centre one, are circular medallions, surrounded also by the twisted guilloche, but with tessellæ of a subdued colour, in which olive green and white prevail, this arrangement giving greater effect to the pictorial subjects within each circle, an effect which is heightened by inner circles of black frets of various patterns in the different medallions. The central figure, which is supposed to have been a centaur, together with

some other parts of the pavement, was unfortunately injured by the pressure of the foundation wall of a dwelling-house. There are representations of the goddess Flora, Silenus, the goddess Ceres, Actæon the hunter, at the moment when he was being changed by Diana into a stag, and was on the point of being devoured by his own dogs, and of the goddess Pomona. A small part only of the next medallion remains. When complete it probably represented Bacchus on a panther.

There were formerly three hospitals existing at Cirencester, dedicated to St. John, St. Thomas, and St. Lawrence. Only the ruins of St. John's Hospital remain. These are of the Transitional Norman style which prevailed during the latter half of the twelfth century, and probably are part of the original structure.

The townsmen of Cirencester in 1343, when accusing the abbey of Cirencester of certain usurpations, declared that St. John's Hospital was founded and endowed by Henry I., and was appropriated by the abbey in the time of Henry II. It appears that old folk and other miserable persons were received and maintained at the hospital according to its means, the largesses of the faithful, and the contributions of the almoner of the abbey.

There was a chantry founded in connection with this hospital, and the chapel no doubt stood on the site of the existing cottages at the east end.

Abbot Hereward obtained from Edward III., on the payment of £300, a confirmation of this hospital and other possessions, his tenure of which had been disputed by the townsmen.

In the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 the income of the warden from various sources was returned by the canons of the abbey at £6 5s. 4d.[1]

A walk through the picturesque gardens of Cirencester House brought the members to the Barton Roman pavements, which they inspected. Tea was provided by Canon Sinclair, and a pleasant half-hour was spent in the vicarage garden. Before dinner there was time to visit the Roman museum owned by Mrs. Wilfrid Cripps, and the bull-ring or amphitheatre.

Canon SINCLAIR kindly read the following account of the parish church while the members were assembled in the sacred building :—

In Roman times the site of the church was divided into two unequal parts by the Ermine Street, which passed through where now stand the north and south porches. No doubt there would be important buildings on such an important site, and indeed a Roman altar and a round vessel have been dug up in St. John's Chapel. Nor is it difficult to believe that in Romano-British times a Christian church may have existed here utilised as a place of worship by the Saxons after their conversion to

1 See *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, viii. 224–8.

Christianity; at all events, we know that the Saxons had a building, and possibly a church, here, for there are Saxon foundations under the east wall of the nave. All that, however, is conjecture; it is not until Norman times that we arrive at anything like certainty.

If we stand in front of the chancel screen we shall be in the centre of the Norman church. It was without doubt cruciform; the Norman masonry under the windows at the east of the south aisle would be the end of the south transept, and the two windows above are the lineal descendants of those in Norman times; the roof in those days would be lower, and the second range of windows above would not be inserted till the rebuilding of the church in 1515. Parts of the east walls of these transepts still remain; that of the south transept has a portion of a small Norman arch leading into what may have been a chancel aisle, but what was more probably a single bay, such as exists at Wimborne. Of the corresponding wall of the north transept, you will find remains near the entrance to St. Katharine's Chapel, where there is some cross-patching that tells of this period. You will notice that these transepts must have been of imposing size; the nave (of which we have no trace) would be of corresponding importance, while the choir extended as far as the north arcade. Possibly also there was a tower over the crossing. All this would make up a very noble church, such as one would expect in a town which was a royal residence.

In the twelfth century there were alterations in and about the chancel. It is uncertain whether there were chancel aisles in the Norman church, though it is difficult to account for the Norman doorway in the present St. Katharine's Chapel if there were not. But if there were, the arcades must have been taken down about fifty years after they were built, and been replaced by the present transitional work. That this work does belong to the twelfth century seems clear from the fact that the capital of the central pillar in the north arcade has a square-edged abacus, while its base is precisely similar to one found by Mr. Fuller at St. Cross, Winchester, which was begun by Bishop Henry de Blois in 1135. The arches are pointed, and so must be later than 1125, but otherwise tell little; they are plainly moulded. The arcade on the south side may be a little later, if we are to judge by the interesting foliated capital of its central pillar. The east pillar of this arcade is to be noticed; it is Roman, the portion of the base embedded in the wall having its original moulding, while the half that is exposed has been reworked into mouldings of about the date 1170. The east wall of this aisle was diapered with stars and crescents, the badge of the early Plantagenet kings.

In the thirteenth century the chancel was extended eastwards, and the Norman termination (probably an apse) was replaced by the present square end with its east window. The east window is remarkable; it

has fine thirteenth-century mouldings, but a broken, unshapely arch; and it seems probable that the original window was narrower, like that at the east end of St. John's Chapel; and then, when the manufacture of glass was at its zenith and everyone wanted larger east windows, this window was converted into its present five-light shape, with the old arch bent outwards to accommodate the additional lights. Then was built the original Lady Chapel beyond the north or St. Katharine's aisle. This bore the name of "The Chapel of the Blessed Mary of the Charnell," on account of the charnel vault below it. The drip outside against the east wall of the nave shows where the sharp-pitched roof of this building extended. Late in this century the south chancel aisle—the chapel of St. John Baptist—must have been enlarged to its present size; traces of the older lean-to roof can be seen against the wall of the nave aisle. The date of this chapel cannot be before 1280, to judge by the trefoils in the windows, for trefoils came in after that year. The south wall of this chapel was rebuilt about one hundred years ago, and a doorway and two late Perpendicular windows removed. In the same century the nave must have been reconstructed. Over the tower arch is to be seen the steep-pitched roof of this Early English building; and on the west wall of the north aisle may be traced other lines showing the corresponding roof of that aisle, which was both lower and narrower than the one at present existing. The aisle on the south would no doubt be the same. The archway into St. John's Chapel and the lower portions of the archways into St. Katharine's and St. Mary's Chapels date from this century. The three east pillars of the south aisle are said to rest on Early English foundations.

It is strange that little appears to have been done in the fourteenth century, unless the nave aisles were widened then; they must have been widened to their present extent before the building of the Trinity Chapel in the succeeding century.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century we have the building of the tower. It is certainly a dignified and noble structure, but not exactly beautiful. The excuse for this is that it was never completed; the squinches in its top angles show that it was designed for a spire, which would have had the effect of pulling the whole together, and have made it symmetrical and beautiful. The reason why this spire was never built is quite clear. The tower was no sooner built than it began to give way, and not only would it not bear any further strain, but the great flying buttresses had to be put up for its support—those buttresses which have such an unfortunate effect in making the church look high-shouldered when seen from a distance. In 1430—the year of the capture and burning of Joan of Arc—the Trinity Chapel was built, the gem of the whole church, with its elaborate carvings and unsurpassed roof. The

two men principally concerned in its erection—Prelatte and Dixton—were prominent adherents of Richard, Duke of York, whose badge—the fetter-lock and falcon—is to be seen above each arch and window in the chapel, while their own brasses are to be found on its face. This was the chapel of the principal guild of the town. Soon afterwards was put up the screen of Irish oak at the south-east angle of the nave enclosing the chantry-chapel of St. Edmund of Canterbury, afterwards called "The Chapel of the Fraternity of the Name of Jesus." It owes its existence to a family named Garstang, wealthy merchants of the town, who had a crypt for burial immediately under the chapel, and who commenced the rebuilding of the nave, a work which seems not to have been continued till 1515. This screen has recently been restored to its old position; it was removed and laid aside in 1803, and afterwards used for a choir vestry. In 1450 the Lady Chapel was rebuilt as we see it now; but one hundred years ago part of the north wall fell down, and in the rebuilding the three side windows were put in with incorrect tracery. Again, to the fifteenth century we owe the clergy vestry at the south-east corner of the church. Its windows are so narrow and so heavily barred, and its door, walls and roof are so strong, that it evidently was the treasury or sacristy of the church; in the eighteenth century it was used as a study by the perpetual curates of the church. About the same time the chapel of St. Katharine was prolonged eastwards; originally it terminated at the end of the chancel arcade.

We now come to the sixteenth century. About 1500 the great south porch was built over a crypt, and with two stories of rooms over the entrance passage to the church; the two stories are now thrown into one large hall. It appears to have been the reconstruction of an older building. It is a unique feature, and must impress everyone who approaches the church from the market-place side. There have been many surmises as to the purpose for which it was intended, but there can be little doubt that it was for a meeting-place of the town guilds, which were at least four in number, with services and priests in the Trinity, St. Katharine's, St. John's, and Jesus Chapels. These guilds, which, as we all know, would have a good deal of business to transact (one of them maintained a hospice in Gosditch Street, and they all were benefit societies, and exercised the duties of practical charity), and these rooms or halls would be useful for social and business purposes.

But now a greater work was to be undertaken. In 1515 enough money was collected to enable those responsible to begin the rebuilding of the nave. The abbot and canons of the abbey must have taken a lead in the work, for the church was entirely in their hands, and the abbey arms appear in various parts of it; and there would be other persons of position who would assist, such as Ruthall, Bishop of Durham,

Trans. xvii., 284.

EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION, IN THE THIRD SPANDRIL ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE NAVE OF CIRENCESTER CHURCH.

A FIST. A SCOURGE. PILATE.

the Berkeleys, Comptons, &c.; but the wealthy woolstaplers of the town must have the chief credit of what was done. Here, as in East Anglia, they enlarged and beautified their parish church as a thankoffering for their prosperity. I think the Garstang family alone had both a coat of arms and a merchant's mark, but you will find an interesting series of these marks amongst the arms and badges of those who contributed to the rebuilding of this which, I think you will agree, is one of the noblest arcades in England. And let me point out an exceptional feature. Not content with the great clerestory, they put one over the chancel arch, and even another over the arcade of the north aisle. The great work must have been finished about 1530, when one Henry Taffer left money for the seats. Abbot Blake's initials are carved on the external keystone; he became abbot in 1522.

I have only now to mention that in 1535 the abbey was dissolved and destroyed, and in 1539 part of its groined cloister roof was found to fit on to St. Katharine's Chapel, and was placed in its present odd position, the walls, east window and entrance arch being raised for the purpose.

I have now sketched the history of the building of this most instructive church. It would be impossible for one in the course of a single paper to enter into a discussion on doubtful points, or to describe to you the many matters of interest which will engage your attention as you walk round it—the frescoes, brasses, chained books, coats of arms, hour-glass, ancient embroidery, glass, candelabra, inscriptions, &c., which caused William Morris to say of it that it was "romantic to a degree." But I will briefly mention one or two facts about the bells, the glass and the plate.

In 1634 there appear to have been eight bells, which were then recast, and the townspeople paid the Parliamentarians £30 to save them from being melted down for cannon. In 1658 one of the bells of St. John's Hospital was given to the church. In the eighteenth century Rudhall, of Gloucester, recast them, when there appear to have been twelve. There are now thirteen; the extra bell is used when a minor peal is rung, and as an alarm bell for fires. There are many quaint customs as to these bells. The tenth bell is still rung as the curfew at 8 p.m. through the winter; the ninth bell is rung on Shrove Tuesday—the old shriving bell, locally termed the "pancake" bell; on Holy Innocents' Day a muffled minor peal is rung; on Saturdays at 11 a.m. the bells are lifted one by one. It is said this has been done since a piece of land was given to the abbey to pay for the keeping in order of the parish church bells; the abbot had the bells lifted in this way to show the town that the whole ring was in order. On saints' days and holy days the third and fourth are chimed as epistle and gospel bells.

The ancient glass is mainly of the fifteenth century. That in the east and west windows was collected from various windows in the church, under the direction of Lysons, about one hundred years ago. He advised that the east window should be cut down to the level of the altar in order to find room for more of it; at the restoration of the church in 1865 the window was restored to its old form. Three years ago Lysons' arrangement of the east window was altered, and the green, orange and magenta glazier's glass of his period was taken out, and the leading of the whole carefully seen to; this was done in memory of the late Mr. Wilfrid Cripps. The tracery of the side windows in the Trinity Chapel contains in the main its original glass. And while there are a few pieces in other parts of the church, the only other glass that requires mention is that in one of the north windows of the Lady Chapel, most of which I found loose in the church, and which was put up three years ago.

The church plate you see before you, and it is well known. The modern pieces include a large almsdish made by Mr. Harry Wilson, with enamel coat of arms and bosses of three saints connected with the town; a cross of gold, silver and copper, made by Mr. Spencer; and two chalices and patens. There are two almsdishes of Queen Anne's period, and an ancient strainer-spoon. But the glory of the collection is the plate of Tudor times. The two large jug-shaped flagons date from 1576; they are the finest specimens of their class, and weigh 66 and 67 oz. The great pair of gilt chalices with paten covers (1570) weigh 52 and 53 oz.; they also are the finest known specimens of the early post-Reformation chalice. And, lastly, there is the famous Boleyn cup (1535), 12⅜ inches high; it will be best understood by the illustration which we give from a photograph taken at South Kensington Museum. A friend of mine lately discovered that it is made from a design by Hans Brosamer, of Fulda, and later of Erfurt, where he died in 1552.

The church, as we have seen, has passed through many vicissitudes, often enlarged, sometimes allowed to fall into disrepair. It must have been very glorious prior to the great crash of the Reformation, when all its windows were filled with glass of the best period, when frescoes adorned many of its walls, and even its pillars and arches were coloured, and when its glorious nave was fresh from the hands of the builder. A hundred years later it was so broken, dilapidated and neglected, that it was made by its friends to petition Archbishop Laud in piteous terms for renovation; something was then done, and repairs in the taste of the day were carried out from time to time afterwards; but it was not till 1865 that the work was taken in hand thoroughly by Sir Gilbert Scott—too thoroughly many of us may think; but it was the spirit of the age. Nor must it be forgotten that Sir Gilbert spared things which

P 36.

BOLEYN CUP, A.D. 1535. CIRENCESTER CHURCH.

the people here would have removed, and that his work was sound and good. And now we have a building that is not only fairly adapted for modern worship, but is still eloquent of the past. As Swinburne says :—

> "Strong as time and as faith sublime,—clothed round with shadows of hopes and fears,
> Nights and morrows, and tears and sorrows, alive with passion of prayers and tears,—
> Stands the shrine that has seen decline eight hundred waxing and waning years."

In the evening, after the annual dinner, there was a meeting at the Town Hall in order to hear an address from the President on "The Modern Status of Archæology and the Hopes of Archæology in Relation to Certain Dark Periods in Britain," which is printed in this part of the *Transactions*.

The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the President for his illuminating address, which, he said, was valuable not only for having told them much they did not know before, but also because it had set before them a perfect example of the best method of archæological study, the working from the known to the unknown by a process of growth and evolution.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOWLY seconded the vote of thanks, which was heartily accorded.

Mr. SEWELL then read an interesting paper, illustrated by map and diagram, describing the discovery ten years ago, by the late Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, of the Roman basilica of Corinium—the fine building consisting of nave and aisles, with apsidal west end and portico supported by Corinthian columns at the east end, situated at the southern extremity of the modern Tower Street, contiguous to the spot where the crossing of the great Roman roads converging at Corinium marked the centre of the Roman city. Mr. Sewell reproduced the late Mr. Cripps's graphic story of his important "find," as already published in our *Transactions*, and clearly explained the situation and fine proportions of the building.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Sewell, the PRESIDENT recommended caution in assuming that all basilicas were necessarily Courts of Justice, for the business halls or stock exchanges were of exactly similar plan, and the fact that to the Corinium basilica were attached small rectangular apartments on the south side suggested that these were money-changers' offices, and that the basilica, like ones he met with in Rome, was used as a stock exchange.

Mr. FOX seconded the vote of thanks, and the day's proceedings closed a little after ten o'clock.

On Wednesday morning, at 9.30, the members started in several brakes on what proved a delightful and interesting excursion in brilliant summer weather, under the leadership of the President (Mr. St. Clair Baddeley), who was a truly admirable guide, his inexhaustible stores of antiquarian

knowledge being freely drawn upon at each halting-place for the instruction of the party, there being no department of archæological research on which he had not something of interest and value to say. In spite of the Gloucestershire associations of the Society, the excursionists soon passed over the county border, and the greater part of the day's proceedings was confined to Wiltshire—Ashton Keynes, Purton and Cricklade being visited in turn—and Gloucestershire territory was not re-entered till the afternoon, when halts were made at Down Ampney, South Cerney and Siddington.

The first stopping-place was Ashton Keynes, and as the parish church of All Hallows was reached somewhat before the hour fixed in the itinerary, the President conducted the party round the exterior of the church, pending the arrival of the vicar, the Rev. M. J. T. Milling. The President, indeed, pointed out that in order to understand the changes made in the several centuries it was always better first to take an external view of a church, instead of making the common mistake of at once going inside. He proceeded to indicate the following features: On the south side, a Perpendicular porch added to a south wall which had Decorated and Perpendicular windows; at the west end, a tower in the main built in the thirteenth century, the whole after that being rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and the battlement probably added in the fifteenth; a little Perpendicular-headed priest's door leading into the chancel; on the north side, an early easternmost window, then a little triangular-headed cavity which originally went through the wall, being probably a hole in the wall through which the sanctus bell was rung; next came a window a little older than the previous one, the hood being sawn off; then a fourteenth-century window; then there was also a now blocked-up square window (which on going inside it was afterwards found was originally constructed to give light to a rood-loft in the north aisle, the curious reredos of which still remains); the north porch was either newly built, or rebuilt in the fifteenth century, with an Early English round-headed doorway, probably dating about 1220; at the west end of the north aisle was a good Perpendicular window.

Speaking of the Keynes family, which gave their name to this and other places in the immediate locality, such as Poole Keynes and Somerford Keynes, the President said they were extensive landowners in this part of Wiltshire at the time of Henry I., but the one who actually held Ashton Keynes and Poole Keynes was Sir John Keynes, of the time of Edward III., who married a daughter of Maltravers, who was concerned in the alleged murder of Edward II. In 1386 (*temp.* Richard II.) he also held large landed possessions in Northamptonshire, and at that time an epidemic must have seized the family, for Sir John Keynes and his wife died, the property descended to a little girl twelve years of age, whose

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PURTON CHURCH.

death was recorded in a few months, she was succeeded by an aunt, Elizabeth, and she dying, the property passed to a cousin, de Wootton.

On entering the church, the VICAR read extracts from the excellent description written for the Wiltshire Archæological Society by Mr. C. E. Ponting, F.S.A., a striking feature being the splendid three-membered Norman chancel arch, which was, however, unfortunately widened at the restoration in 1869 under Mr. Butterfield.

The church of the Holy Cross consists of nave with aisles and north and south porches, western tower, and chancel with north chapel. The earliest work in this church is to be seen in the chancel arch and the eastern pillars of the nave on the north side, but the former has been enlarged. In this work and in the corresponding pillars on the south side can be traced the course of the transition in architectural style which was completed about 1200. The font is also a fine specimen of the work of this period. The north and south aisles are both in the main fourteenth century, and have roofs of the same date, the easternmost window of the south and the west window of the north are, however, of the Perpendicular style. In the east wall of the north aisle is an arch leading into the north chapel. Above this arch may be seen the reredos of a rood-loft altar. Judging by the staircase and doorways there was a rood-loft to this chapel only. The north chapel was divided into two, each with its altar and piscina, the latter remaining both here and in the chancel. Chancel and chapel are both thirteenth century, though showing considerable alterations. The tower and north porch are both fourteenth century. The south porch is Perpendicular, and there is glass of the same date in the south aisle. A great part of the churchyard cross remains, and there are parts of three other crosses in the village. Near the church is a moated farm.

The programme announced a drive of "five miles of pleasant Cotswold lanes" to Purton, but by a misunderstanding the drivers elected to make a detour through Minety, and so nearly double that distance was traversed before the village was reached. Some years must have elapsed since we were so much behind our time, but no great harm was done, though it became necessary to shorten our stay at the very interesting little church of St. Mary at Cricklade. The Vicar of Purton, the Rev. J. Veysey, met the party at his noble church, chiefly of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century styles, and remarkable for the possession of both a western tower and central spire, a combination said to exist only in two other churches in England, viz. at Wanborough, another Wiltshire parish not many miles away, and at Ormskirk, in Lancashire.

Part of the churchyard cross remains, and there is a small piece of carved stone, supposed to represent the Annunciation, inserted in the outside of the east wall. The pillars of the nave are of early thirteenth-

century style. There were side altars in the south chancel aisle and in the south transept, and these are connected by a small opening some six feet from the ground. Many of the walls show traces of fresco work. Beneath the central spire is a chamber, entered from the north transept, which appears to have been used as a priest's chamber, but there is now no view of the altar from it, possibly owing to a change in the level of the chancel ceiling, and there is a more complete, if later, priest's chamber over the south porch. In the splay of the south doorway the Bishop of Bristol has lately brought to notice the consecration crosses. The south porch is also worthy of notice. Next to the churchyard stands a fine old gabled house, possibly Tudor, and beyond this a large tithe barn.

The President congratulated the vicar on the care he had taken of his beautiful church, on the success of the recent work, and especially on his having wisely withstood the desire expressed by some that the handsome oak screen should be painted. Alluding to the consecration crosses lately pointed out by the Bishop of Bristol on the thirteenth-century inner door of the south porch, the President expressed a doubt whether they all belonged to the same period.

On arrival at Cricklade, luncheon was the first business, and this was excellently served at the White Hart Hotel. After luncheon St. Sampson's Church was visited.

Two stones over the north door are probably relics of an early church, perhaps tenth century. The earliest part of the present building is Transitional Norman. Of this date remains only the eastern arcades of the nave, the western are slightly later, and both aisles and chancel have been remodelled. The south aisle was rebuilt last century, though probably most of its features are identical with those of a thirteenth-century restoration. The north aisle is mostly of the fourteenth century, when it probably became a chantry of the family living in the manor of Wildhill. An effigy long exposed in the churchyard has been placed in a recess here, perhaps originally its own. The chancel is of the fourteenth century; its transepts, though showing traces of a thirteenth-century original, have been much altered in the fifteenth century and recently. The south transept has been supported at its south east angle by a flying buttress, dated 1569. The tower, and possibly the porch, are magnificent examples of post-Reformation Gothic, the date of the tower being considered to be fixed at 1552 by the combination of the devices of Warwick and Northumberland, only once born by the same individual—the successor of the Protector Somerset.

This large and important thirteenth-century church has comparatively little thirteenth-century work left, for it underwent great alteration

and extension in the fifteenth century. Apparently after the Reformation, probably about 1552 or 1553, the whole of the outer work of the central tower was rebuilt, and the inner portion has been entirely rebuilt in a manner which the President described as rather grandiose than graceful. The badges inside the tower showed that John Dudley, the famous, or rather infamous, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, the father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, patronised the rebuilding. In the somewhat coarse rebuilding of the inner portion of the tower, the President discerned a deliberate attempt to be even with the Gothic, and such an attempt so late as the sixteenth century is certainly interesting. Among the accumulation of badges on all sides of the tower, in addition to Dudley's bear and ragged staff, are representations of the sun, moon and stars, and the presence of a sheaf of corn between two sickles, as well as a pair of wool shears, both inside and outside the tower, show that in addition to Dudley's patronage the work was also supported by some local magnates interested in the corn and wool trade.

The President also called attention to two interesting fragments embedded in the wall above the nicely proportioned thirteenth-century door within the added north porch of a half-century's later date. These fragments are specimens of that Celtic art to which Mr. St. Clair Baddeley made reference in his presidential address. That on the right is a portion of sepulchral stones, and that on the left is a piece of strap and plait work which the President thought to be a piece of the shaft of a cross. Immediately above the crown of the arch is a curious stone with six perforations, the original use of which is uncertain. The President suggested that it was formerly in a place where the perforations were needed for small bell ropes; for he did not agree with the theory which represented the stone as the base of a small statue of the Virgin with the holes for holding candles. Reverting to the Celtic fragments just referred to, the President said they were of peculiar interest by reason of the unusual dedication of the church to St. Sampson, who was a Celtic saint, being Bishop of Dol, in Normandy, and died in 598. Such a dedication in the heart of Celtic Britain was particularly interesting, because usually the Saxons appropriated everything, including the saints, and in that dedication and in those two fragments one felt one had a connecting chord with Celtic times. There seem to be also some traces of Celtic place-names in the district; though it is not fashionable at the moment to see the Celtic *Craig* in the first syllable of *Cricklade*, *Pool* Keynes and *Ewen* in Kemble certainly seem to have Celtic affinities.

The President also gave an interesting account of Adam de Stretton, to whom Cricklade once belonged, and who was Master of the Exchequer

in the reign of Henry III., who stands out as the arch-rogue of the thirteenth century, for after several times getting into trouble owing to his curious dealing with public funds, as the result of which he amassed great possessions—Cricklade amongst them—his disclosures so inconveniently involved high personages, particularly the king, that he was allowed to escape with nominal punishment, and became a trained forger, to whose beautiful script many false charters and transfers of land are due.

Nearly at the opposite end of the main street is the pretty little church of St. Mary's. The first feature to attract attention is the churchyard cross, almost complete and beautifully carved. Most of the church has suffered many things at the hands of many restorers. The chancel arch is a very fine example of Norman, the font is Early English, the roofs and arcades fifteenth century, and the pulpit Jacobean. The squints on either side are in their original state.

This small church was visited under the guidance of the rector, the Rev. S. Denton, who pointed out the Norman arch of 1180, the sole remaining vestige of the ancient church. The porch and outside buttress are Early English. Much damage was done in the 1862 restoration, including the removal of a Norman window from the east end, and its replacement by a terrible window that has lately been in its turn removed, and one of suitable design by Mr. Pointing erected as a memorial to the late rector. The rest of the church is quite late Tudor. There is a fine Laudian altar, dated 1627.

Passing on our way the village crosses of Latton and Down Ampney, we came to the church of the latter village, dedicated to All Hallows. Close by stands the manor house, with its gatehouse, which attracted the attention of Lysons. The house is in the best Tudor style, and the *Transactions* contain many interesting references to the history of the manor. From the Domesday Survey (1086) we learn that in the time of the Confessor Ednod held it. Now it is in the hands of the king, though granted at the Conquest to the Bishop of Bayeux. In 1203 Ralph Tesun, Seneschal of Normandy, held it, but as he adhered to the French side when Normandy was lost, his lands in England were forfeited. This manor passed to Warine Fitz Gerald, who had abandoned his Norman estates at John's demand. This did not, however, prevent his joining the baronial party in 1214, whereupon his estates were declared escheated to the Crown. In 1228 we find Down Ampney in the hands of Godfrey de Crawcombe, though it is still called an escheat. Godfrey was allowed to cut the king's timber to build a house here, but about 1250 he died, apparently leaving no heirs, and Baldwin de Redvers, in right of his wife, the heiress of Fitz Gerald, recovered the estate.

In 1285 the manor was held by Nicholas de Walers of Edmund,

brother of the king, for the service of a fourth part of one knight. Later the property passed to the knights of St. John. A carved slab in the chancel may perhaps mark the tomb of a prior of this Order.

After the Reformation, the manor came into the possession of the Hungerfords, who built the gatehouse; the house is dated 1537, and part may be older. These Hungerfords had the north transept of the church as their family chapel, from which the fine tomb with effigies of the time of Charles I. has been moved to the west end. The structure of the church is probably thirteenth century, but has been considerably altered.

The President pointed out the features of the thirteenth-century church, which has been so sumptuously restored by Mr. Martin Gibbs, and some fine oak work added, including a magnificent rood-loft and a screen enclosing the south transept as a chantry chapel. In the south aisle attention was called to a piece of drip work terminating in an exquisite boss of trefoil foliation. There is a Laudian altar in the chapel only three years later than that at Cricklade St. Mary's. A fine specimen of an early fourteenth-century stone coffin was thought by the vicar to be that of an abbot or other high dignitary of the knights of St. John, who presented to the living in 1297. A fine Elizabethan tomb of the Hungerfords was at the west end of the north aisle.

By the permission of Mr. Martin Gibbs, a short visit was paid to the adjacent manor house, which, with its imposing gatehouse and fine timbered roof, is in the best Tudor style.

South Cerney was the next stopping-place, and as the vicar, the Rev. A. C. Stephens, was unable to be present, the President described the parish church of All Hallows, which he said was thoroughly different in type from any of the others visited during the day, being a great deal more united in the appearance of the nave and aisles, but immediately you look beneath the surface all the different periods are represented, and represented in some respects in a very strong way. The earliest portion of the church, the western tower, was built in the time of King John. In the chancel there is much fourteenth-century work. The east window and the priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel have the wallflower ornament. The north door has fine chevron mouldings, and over the fine south door is a piece of sculpture, probably twelfth or early thirteenth century, representing the figure of Christ, and also Abraham sacrificing Isaac. The spire which formerly surmounted the tower was removed in recent years.

A curious tomb in the churchyard was said to be that of the parents of Abbot Parker, *temp.* Henry VII.

Siddington was reached after a short drive, and the day pleasantly closed at Siddington House, in the beautiful and finely-timbered grounds

of which Mrs. Christopher Bowly received the party to tea. while Mr. Bowly exhibited many of the objects from his interesting collection, including a Roman monumental stone and a votive altar, and a curious collection of man-traps and other specimens of the sort of humanity prevailing a hundred or so years ago.

Thursday morning was devoted to a visit to the bull-ring or Roman amphitheatre, as to which the usual rival and conflicting opinions were advanced, and at a quarter past eleven train was taken to Marlborough, whence there was a carriage excursion to Pickle Dean (where the "Grey Wethers" Sarsens were inspected under the able guidance of the Rev. E. H. Goddard, honorary secretary of the Wilts Archæological Society); thence to Silbury Hill, the largest tumulus in Europe; and on to Avebury, where were inspected the remains of what was once the grandest megalithic monument in the British Isles, consisting of probably six hundred stones, as against the hundred of Stonehenge. Avebury Church and the manor house (by kind permission of the rector) were also inspected.

Leaving the Ailesbury Arms Hotel, we passed down the High Street of Marlborough, the widest and perhaps one of the most picturesque streets in England, through which forty coaches passed daily along the Great Bath Road, and drew up at the famous Castle Inn, once the residence of the Marquis of Hertford, and now the central block of the college buildings, visible on the left as we pass the gates. Just before this we passed close under the tower of St. Peter's Church, one of the most striking in the county (the church itself boasts a vaulted chancel, but otherwise has not many points of interest). At the gates of the college stands Bodley's Chapel, in its interior one of the most beautiful of modern churches. The road then lay along the valley of the Kennett as far as Avebury. Soon after leaving Marlborough a small white horse on the side of the hill was passed on the left, and at about three miles the road passed the narrow valley of Piggle Dean, remarkable as containing one of the chief streams of Sarsen stones, known since the old coaching days as the "Grey Wethers," a name which those who walk up through the first enclosure to the point where the valley widens out in the second enclosure, and the stones lie thicker, will be seen to be appropriate enough. These Sarsen stones, the hard nodules and the sole remains of a stratum of Eocene sand which once covered the chalk, are found scattered over the downs of North Wilts and Berkshire, but nowhere else in the imposing number in which they occur in this immediate neighbourhood. From this valley they spread all over Totterdown to the north in countless thousands still, varying in size from small boulders to stones of sixty or seventy tons or more. They vary, too, a good deal in density, but for the most part consist of a stone

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SARSEN STONES, PIGGLEDEAN.

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SILBURY HILL.

of extreme hardness and durability, almost impossible to work with the chisel, but *split* with ease into gateposts and cubical stones for building or "pitching." The whole of the stones of the circles at Avebury, and all the larger stones of Stonehenge are Sarsens, and the latter probably came from the Marlborough neighbourhood, as they are not found, and could hardly have existed, in any number on Salisbury Plain. The National Trust and the Wilts Archæological Society have issued an appeal for funds to purchase and preserve a portion of this valley, as the mass of the Sarsens in this neighbourhood are now being broken up for building purposes.

On arriving at the entrance of Piggle Dean the party left the carriages, and walked for about a quarter of a mile up the valley to a point where the stones lie thickest for the purpose of hearing from the Rev. E. H. Goddard a most interesting account of the origin and distribution of Sarsen stones.

Beyond Overton, on "Seven Barrows Hill," are good examples of the round barrows of Wilts. Silbury Hill (2½ miles) is the largest tumulus in England, perhaps in Europe. It measures (according to Rev. A. C. Smith) 552 feet in diameter at base, 104 feet at top, and 130 feet in perpendicular height. Two attempts to solve the riddle of its origin have been made. The Archæological Institute excavated a tunnel to the centre from the west side in 1849, the Duke of Northumberland having sunk a shaft from the top to the base of the mound about a hundred years before. In neither case was anything in the nature of an interment found, though in a mound of this size this cannot be held to be conclusive as to its non-sepulchral origin. The great mound in the college grounds at Marlborough, the nearest rival to Silbury in point of size in the county, is doubtless the sole remnant of the earliest castle on the site, of the mound and bailey type, whether of Saxon or as the latest authorities would have it of the early Norman time. From the top of Silbury the West Kennett Long Barrow, one of the largest in England, lying in the fields some distance to the south could be seen.

The Roman road from Aquæ Solis (Bath) to Cunetio (Marlborough) coming from the west passed to the south of the mound beside the present road, swerving, it is believed, from its straight line to avoid the mound.

Continuing the journey to Beckhampton and turning to the right at the famous racing stables, the "Long Stones" or "Long Stone Cove," two large standing stones were seen in the cultivated fields to the left. From this spot an avenue of stones, "the Beckhampton Avenue," is asserted by Stukeley (1743) to have reached to the circle at Avebury. Aubrey, however, writing in 1663, makes no mention

at all of this avenue, and authorities are divided as to the probability of its existence. In any case, nothing remains of it now.

A little farther on, just before crossing the bridge over the infant Kennett, one of the best views of Silbury was obtained across the meadows to the right.

The earthworks of Avebury were reached almost immediately after this. These earthworks consist of a deep ditch with the bank on the *outside* (and therefore not for defence), enclosing a space of twenty-eight acres, within which the greater part of the village of Avebury now stands, built almost entirely of the Sarsens which once formed part of the grandest megalithic monument in the British Isles, consisting probably of at least six hundred stones, as against the one hundred of Stonehenge.

Immediately inside the ditch ran a circle of stones enclosing the whole area, and inside this circle were two other smaller circles, not concentric, the northern and southern "temples." Each of these smaller circles are said to have consisted of two concentric rings of stones, with a single standing stone in the centre of the southern, and a cove of three stones in the centre of the northern "temple." Of the whole at the present time, the earthworks for more than three-quarters of the circle, fifteen stones still standing, and sixteen which have fallen are all that remain visible, though the existence of eighteen other stones now buried underground was ascertained by Mr. Smith. A section cut through the bank and ditch some years ago proved that the latter had filled up some eight feet or more, but beyond the finding of considerable numbers of the horns of red deer in the rubble of the mound, and one or two pieces of worked bone, nothing which could throw any light on the age of the structure was found. It has generally been assumed that as the Sarsens here are entirely unworked, whilst those of Stonehenge have been worked, Avebury must be the older of the monuments. If this is so, and if the date assigned to Stonehenge on the strength of recent investigations there of about 1600 or 1800 B.C. be accepted, Avebury can hardly be put much later than 2000 B.C. As to its purpose, the temple theory, and a connection with sun worship, is the one now held by most archæologists.

On the return journey to Marlborough via Kennett, the remains of the "Kennett Avenue" were seen. This, which is said by Stukeley to have consisted of one hundred stones on each side, stretched from Avebury to a small circle on Overton Hill, roughly following the line of the modern road to Kennett, beside which four of its stones still stand, while in the ploughed ground to the right of the road eleven stones, of which one only is standing, still occupy their original positions, and give the width of the avenue and the spacing of the stones.

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STONES OF GREAT CIRCLE, AVEBURY.

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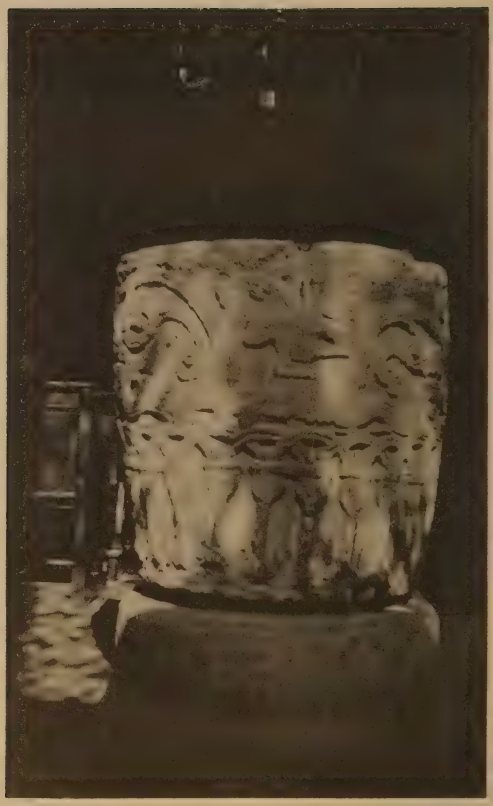
DITCH AND RAMPART, AVEBURY.



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FONT, AVEBURY CHURCH.

The church is an extremely interesting example of Saxon work. The chancel is of early fourteenth-century work, of no special interest. (Good fourteenth-century work is singularly rare in Wiltshire.) The tower is a characteristic North Wilts tower of about 1450, to which time also the Perpendicular work of the south aisle belongs. The beautiful front of the rood-loft is original, and of about the same date The screen beneath it is partly a modern structure. The font, of tub form, is covered with carving of rude workmanship, of twelfth-century date. On one side a bishop wearing a mitre and holding a staff with book in his left hand, on each side a dragon.

An interesting feature is the singular ambulatory (not a squint) leading from the north aisle to the chancel. Similar passages exist at Hilmarton and at Bremhill in this neighbourhood, but what was their special object and why they are found here and not elsewhere in England it is not easy to say. But the real interest of the building lies in the remains of the Saxon nave. This had four windows on each side, unglazed, and fitted with shutters on the outside, with four small circular openings also unglazed high up in the clerestory. North and south aisles were added in the twelfth century, two arches being cut through the Saxon wall on each side with a pier of seven feet of wall left between them. In 1828 these Norman arcades gave way to the present arches, copied it is said from those at Calne. But when these arches were cut out the original Saxon wall over them was left undisturbed, and in it on this side were afterwards found the three curious circular clerestory openings, one of which has never been moved, whilst the other two having been taken down before their nature was discovered have been replaced in the modern clerestory windows. It will be seen that a row of holes runs round the edges of these circular openings. These are regarded by Mr. Ponting as meant to hold sticks for a wattlework centre on which the splay of flint rubble might be turned, freestone being difficult to obtain in this locality. One of the original Saxon lower windows remains intact on each side at the west end of the nave, showing in each case the angle shafts of the responds and parts of the labels of the twelfth century cutting into the earlier Saxon work. The bold projecting string course below the upper windows and a patch of the original outside plastering of the Saxon nave may be seen in the north aisle, whilst the quoins of long and short work can also be traced at the west end of this aisle.

The manor house, visited by kind permission of the owner, Capt. Jenner, was the mansion of the Dunche family. It is a picturesque example of Jacobean, with earlier Elizabethan work. There is also in the farmyard adjoining a circular dovecot.

The priory, held in the thirteenth century by the abbey of St. George

de Boscherville in Normandy, and afterwards by Winchester College and the college of Fotheringay, was granted in 1555 to William Dunche, of Wittenham, co. Berks.

A delightful drive back to Marlborough, interrupted for some of us by an interesting visit to the college chapel, brought a highly successful meeting to a close, but not before cordial thanks had been conveyed to the President (who had previously on occasion thanked everybody else who had assisted), for his genial and scholarly leadership, to which much of the pleasure and profit of the gathering were due.

THE MODERN STATUS OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE HOPES OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN RELATION TO CERTAIN DARK PERIODS IN BRITAIN.

By W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY,
President of the Society.

The area of Gloucestershire, limited in breadth as the county perforce is, is yet so rich from an archæological point of view, that within its own borders it includes representative examples of almost every period and style in Western Art. Hence those who live here have at hand uncommonly rich material for reconstructing for themselves the life of the past. In addition to ancient remains belonging to those various periods, they possess very abundantly the literary records which serve to illustrate and corroborate the stories they tell. By means of these the student, it is no exaggeration to say, may hope not only to clothe again, even with some warmth and colour, any surviving monuments that represent civil, or military, or ecclesiastical life, but to make them almost as intelligible to-day as when they freshly expressed the conditions of a now bygone civilisation.

There are, however, some periods in relation to which the literary record is either entirely lacking, or is so fragmentary that the judgment must, perforce, wait upon the arbitrament of the spade and the patient application of "the comparative method." There are, indeed, certain dark spots, resembling the coal-sack, as sailors call a certain space in the southern heavens, in the historical firmament which the most careful eye seems to sweep in vain. With regard to certain of these dark spots, or periods of history, Gloucestershire is no worse off than most other counties, and I am one of those who are

not without hope—rather, who entertain a firm belief—that especially in regard to one of these, namely the doubly dark period that ensued after the severance of Britain from the Roman Empire in A.D. 406, until the battle of Dyrham in A.D. 577—a period of one hundred and seventy years—Gloucestershire will still bring forth additions, both Pagan and Christian, to enrich our knowledge.

This brings me incidentally to a consideration of the astonishing progress made by archæology during the last half-century, and the sympathy which it more and more finds with the general public of this country. For it is on this support and encouragement that our hopes of throwing further light upon dark and difficult periods, such as that referred to, must depend.

The archæologist of to-day differs from the honoured antiquary of the days of George IV. and Sir Walter Scott, chiefly in the more methodical handling and sifting of his evidence when collected. The scientific spirit of this history-loving age has enabled him at last to recognise the intimate relationship of his pursuit to every section of historical study. It has, consequently, made him conscious, in a way unfelt by his antiquarian forefathers, of his responsibilities toward every department of allied research. We may not be able to discover more significant monuments than they did; we may find ourselves confronted with far more difficult problems for solution than they were confronted by, but in addition to the experiences our forbears have fortunately handed down to us, it is certain that we enjoy the advantage of vastly improved methods of research, and thus it must be at once our ambition to be found worthy of our inheritance, and, by pursuing this modern advantage, to reach fresh and far-reaching conclusions. The main fact stands that archæology has undergone a vast expansion, and one analogous to that observed in the world of natural history since the application of the doctrines of Charles Darwin. The archæologist to-day resembles the modern miner, who can no longer be content, as his

predecessor, to merely dig out and crush the ore-bearing rock, but he must subject even the "old remainders"—the ancient debris as we should call it—to a chemical process, and extract from it wealth hitherto unsuspected — myriads of "unconsidered trifles" that lay far beyond the reach of ordinary scrutiny.

Thus it is that with almost deleted documents, by the application of a simple solution of borax, we can to-day recover the lost text of poem, gospel, manor-roll, or monkish chronicle. With delicate papyri, instead of finding them break like mere biscuit in the hand, we take watchful weeks to unfold them, by the gentle aid of steam, so as to make them at last give up their long-hidden secrets. It is nowise different with the more solid monuments which we survey, such as Avebury and Stonehenge; we dig around, and perhaps trench through them; we photograph, we sift with a sieve! we subject the very seeds from the wells of Roman villas to the microscope; further, we collect the broken potsherds, analyse the glaze on them, and take profiles of their rim-mouldings; and then we arrange and classify, we argue, and finally we draw our conclusions. I do not hesitate to say that it is in consequence of this application of the comparative method that archæology, in our time, has ripened from the purely amateur position it formerly held into a status which approaches the professional, a status, however, which it is only just beginning to enjoy in this country. I look forward to a day when a chair of archæology will be held at every university in the empire. But I look forward to something more—to a time when every well-constituted county archæological society will possess a library affiliated to the central library of the county capital, which shall be open at least three days in the week for study, where not merely will be found a clearly organised set of first-rate books of reference, but registers of all known documents, manor-rolls, inscriptions, and charters relating to the county, and records of the whereabouts of all original portraits, engravings, pictures

and plans relating likewise to it, and to all sites of interest within it.

Instead, therefore, of being any longer regarded as a dry-as-dust hobby, or as a pursuit mercifully provided by Providence for the entertainment or speculation of eccentric and solitary old country gentlemen, archæology is recognised as a sane and noble study, conducive to health of mind and body, and to the enrichment of every department of historical knowledge. Truly, a very wonderful transformation.

It is legitimate, then, to inquire for a moment what has brought this change about. If it was, indeed, worth effecting, why did it come about so slowly? Probably it could not have come more rapidly. For it is not due only to the spread of knowledge, but to its concentration; not to widening of areal surface, but to better ploughing. It is by means of profounder conceptions of the past story of mankind, and a more liberal atmosphere for the conceptions to flourish in than used to prevail, that the very intimate relationship of this once so-called "dry-as-the-dust hobby" to life, its manners, customs, arts, and religions, "and everything that is its" has at last come to be fully acknowledged. It no longer claims compassion or invites trivial "chaff." It flourishes in the broad golden day, and is crowned with honour.

Let us glance, then, for a moment or so on the past that we have left. In former days learning had not felt around and realised every corner of her spacious cage. There were still islands and mountain ranges to be discovered, new languages to vocabularise, races to describe, bonds of convention to break, and strait-waistcoats of what now is regarded as laughable superstition to defy. The world—(can we realise it?)—even but seventy years ago, resembled a moth just breaking with its quasi-mediæval wrappings, except in matters purely scientific. Perhaps that was why it so despised the Middle Ages.

The more we realise its judgments, more and more strange they seem to us. For instance, in art it still thought Carlo

Maratta and Carlo Dolce first-rate and precious masters; it considered Caracci and Guido far greater than Velasquez and Rembrandt. It saw, without a trace of regret, its way out of the fine furniture of the eighteenth-century masters. The inlaid clock and the Chippendale chairs and cabinets, that to-day record amazing values, were expelled to the housekeeper's room, or dispatched to the cellar or to the loft, with the Caxton and the Folio Shakespeare, with the old glass and the queer fire-dogs and the Sheffield plate. It was a vain thing for the antiquary—Mr. Dry-as-dust, as he was called—to lift the voice of protest, though to his honour, and sometimes to his profit, he certainly did so. The new utilitarian spirit, like a riotous, over-healthy youth, was a bit of a tyrant with his severe sense of the "practical." Gothic stained glass was gloomy, while cheap cathedral glass was light, and could be renewed, if the boys broke it, very easily. "Instead of oak," they said, "which is hard to cut, let us have Norwegian pine, and paint it and vein it to imitate oak. Instead of stone mantel-pieces, let us paint them and vein them to resemble marble. Instead of the stupid old-fashioned flowers in the garden, let us have the gardener's ingenious double-dahlia, and try to double and distort and re-create everything else that is there. And as for those vaunted Worcester and Derby 'services,' let us rather have the cheap and gay modern Sèvres."

It is manifest that a person of taste who had known his Britain well in the forties and fifties, and had emigrated, but had returned thither now as an old man, yet with an unimpaired memory, would to-day be positively staggered at the complete revolution in regard to the value placed upon works of art, and indeed upon everything antiquarian. He would find monuments that used to be neglected and passed by carefully fenced in, written about, illustrated, and visited annually by multitudes with untiring interest; while others, that used to be regarded as things "elegant," and most proper to be admired, he would hear condemned as "frightful," or as

"monsters" of Victorian art. What, however, might impress him most especially, he would find no branch of art or of antiquity, however humble, neglected for lack of earnest students. At every turn he would hear of discoveries and of new researches, and perhaps he would soon conclude that the whole world had turned "collector," or else had gone mad, for everyone now collects or studies something, or at least wishes to be thought so to do. Such a person would then ask himself the reason for this universal change. Perhaps he might without difficulty draw these conclusions.

First, the mere eagerness manifested for the possession of certain classes of objects is doubtless in proportion as the known amount of these in the world, like gold itself, is now realised to be limited. But it is not by any means due to a love of archæology. It is too often due to no higher motive than self-advertisement and love of display. It is the millionaire's chosen way of proclaiming his sudden, but profound, culture, his craving for recognition. Secondly, every one of these classes of object in some way is recognised to illustrate past history. It is therefore evident that the study of history itself has become far more serious and absorbing than it was of old, that archæology has come to be recognised as an integral part of her, and archæological inquiries as abstracts and brief chronicles of portions of the mighty past. It is at the same time realised that a great deal of history has been irretrievably lost; and equally, that though many discoveries remain to be made, there is bound to be some limit to the antiquarian treasure yet remaining to be discovered. People feel that there will soon be scarcely enough old work to go round; at any rate, little of it that cannot be methodically classed. "Since my day," our "Revenant" might continue, "a far more scientific condition of mind has universally supervened, and it reveals itself by a very passion for classification. It classifies everything upon which it can, or cannot, lay hands, both with regard to each country, each people, each period, down to county and town and parish

history, and that of private houses. It evidently does its best in order to extract all available knowledge from whatever is put before it. It is no longer content with the surface, but tries for the very marrow of things. Moreover, it requires to illustrate everything. Men no longer search a suspected site merely to discover and expose a mosaic pavement, leaving the rest of the villa and its out-buildings to moulder unquestioned in the field, or to be torn out by the plough. On the contrary, they patiently search and sift the entire site, measure the walls and note their details (even though only the footings remain), analyse the materials, scale out and photograph the whole plan, and finally, from the mass of collected facts they reconstruct, as far as may be possible, a conception of the arts and customs of life in a Roman colony or in a Celto-Roman province. If possible they secure the remains from further damage. Moreover, the same method is applied by them to things Saxon, to things Scandinavian, to things Norman; in fact, to inquiries relating to all periods known to us.

"Again," he might say, "whereas in the days of my youth people only thought of history itself in purple patches or stories, isolated from the rest of the historic purview; thought also of kings and emperors, not of the peoples and their institutions; thought of families, not of races; now they are filling up the dim gaps, and finding missing links of every kind. Their eyes do not merely attend to the statue in the niche, but they find interest in the study of the bald masonry—ay, even of the miserable rubble, of all which we thought little, if at all, but rather took it as a matter of course, not worthy of discussion, far less writing about. Doubtless most of this momentous growth is due to the stimulus given by the scientific enlightenment of this age. At any rate, the real importance of the study of archæology is unquestionable. It is indeed no longer a ghost of a pastime. Its real rank and serious substance is only too apparent. It is intimately interconnected with various very royal branches of science. For instance, the study of things belonging to the Stone Age, of the remains of men and animals

in the cave-drifts, belongs to geology and zoology, and to anthropology, but it also belongs to the domain of archæology. Indeed, in the art of all that lies the vast problem of the 'antiquity of Man,' about which we were scarcely allowed a question in my day. Again, the study of masonry and mouldings, of design, of decoration of all kinds, of heraldry, and of bindings belongs clearly to high art, but likewise essentially it belongs to archæology. The study of implements and vessels of metal and enamels concerns metallurgical science, but it also belongs to archæology. In fact, there is very little, when one thinks of it in this light, that is not related, at no great remove, to archæology. It appears really to be almost a Shakespeare among sciences, which at some point touches and understands most things."

And how, we ask, is this to be explained? We answer, because true archæology, like poetry, is only quite secondarily a pleasant pastime; primarily, it is a form of the scientific search for historic truth. It is the reverent study of all those things in the concrete world of the past, which reflect the needs and the achievements of men and women in every former stage of their progress here. It is the holding of the mirror up to the art of living as attained by man and woman in other ages, and thereby endeavouring to show us "their very form and pressure." It brings the visible and the invisible once more together, not, of course, in the fine way that poetry does, but in a solid, matter-of-fact, and not always romantic way; a way, however, more nearly related to the real than to the imaginative, as belonging more closely to exact science than to the world of the ideal. But, in any case, the human interest in it is paramount.

And yet it must not be supposed that archæology has no relations with the imaginative side of things. For if science itself is found to be helped by a scientific and controlled use of the imagination, so, to be sure, is the calling of the archæologist. By such a use of the imaginative faculty the student may take the very "wings of the morning, and dwell,"

as it were, "in the uttermost parts of the sea." Even out of the most unpromising cold flint may be brought for him absolute fire. The more by study of any class of archæological objects his imagination becomes warmed, the less remote and unrealisable will become to him the period, however remote it be, with which he may have to be dealing. "The olden times are only such in reference to ourselves.[1] The sun shone in Cæsar's time just as it does to-day."

Let me illustrate this from the perhaps not very attractive subject of the barrows of the Stone Age.

We see before us a mound of earth, long or circular in form, and evidently artificially raised. We open it, well aware that whatever we may find within it there will be no such object as an inscribed stone to help its understanding; probably no trace of metal, unless a significant lump of pyrites among the flint weapons. If we do find pottery, it will be of the very lowest grade, made without wheel or proper kiln, and there will be some half-incinerated bones, or merely inhumed bodies, together with some neatly chipped and polished flint implements, scrapers, or arrow-heads.

It will be admitted that the show of contents is somewhat bare and limited. Someone will perhaps say, "No doubt the people who raised the funeral-mound hunted, fought, ate and drank, and died. How they were clothed, if they were clothed, one may conjecture to have been simply in the skins of slain animals. Their cooking must have been primitive to a degree. They seem to have had no arts worth speaking about; perhaps they were cannibals. Does it really matter when these folk lived?"

But wait one moment. Let us scrutinise that piece of ill-fashioned, half-baked pottery that has just been thrown out. What is this mark extending along what was evidently the neck of it? And again, look at these little crude lines of raised points, meant, it would seem, for primitive ornament, and inter-crossing one another diagonally over the body or bowl of the vessel.

[1] Hazlitt.

The first mark shows itself to have been made by pressure of a twisted cord or thong upon the surface of the neck when it was wet in the hands of its maker. Here are the very fibre-prints as well as those of the potter's fingers. Already it is certain, then, that the owners possessed the knowledge of twisting fibres or grasses into cords. If they did this, then they will in all likelihood have had nets to fish with, and others to trap wild beasts, and why not woven garments, however simple? In fact, here are bones of fish from the neighbouring stream. But the inter-crossing diagonal lines of slightly raised points on the body tell us more than that. They imitate nothing if not the raised stitches used in basket-work patterns, while this zone of wavy lines below them represents equally the varied patterns used by some basket-weaver, which has served our primitive potter for his model.

Nor is this a matter of surprise, for, after all, basketry made in imitation of birds' nests may conceivably have preceded baked pottery. Almost all the shapes, let alone the decorations, we are accustomed to in early pottery may have been evolved from those of either gourds or baskets, to the woven meshes of which latter clay was applied in order to render a woven vessel or cauldron water-tight. It has been proved that nearly all their decorations have had structural origins, *i.e.* imitate actual things. Examples from Alaska, Mexico, Lapland and elsewhere show that even cooking vessels, exemplifying transitions between these two arts of the weaver and the potter, are found in use to-day among primitive tribes living there. The pot is filled with water, and not put on the fire, but hot stones from the fire are dropped into it, and the cooking follows. Most of us may be familiar with the far more advanced application of the finer art of porcelain to basketry, as used by the Japanese. At any rate, we shall be within reason in concluding that the people who raised many of these neolithic barrows, albeit without knowledge of metals, were dexterous plaiters and weavers, and that if they were, as is conjectured, the direct ancestors of the Picts, or

painted Goidhels, or Gaels, of Britain, their weaving and plaiting was elaborated with patterns in vegetable colours, both in their costume, their persons, and their food vessels.

If we light, therefore, upon a round barrow containing this poorly though significantly patterned pottery, or upon a long barrow belonging to a still earlier period, even containing none at all, we need not too hastily conclude that the civilisation of their makers was of so miserably meagre a kind that they had no skill except in chipping flint, and slaying animals and dressing in their skins. For even the far more remote palæolithic man, their predecessor, must have possessed civilisation to that extent.

On the contrary, we must conjecture that the wooden hafts which firmly framed their flint blades and axes, the hard thorns which answered to the later metal pins and brooches for their clothes, and the basket cups, bowls and vases, having all of them been made of fibrous materials, have perished utterly, leaving the tombs void of everything save the imperishable flint, or the amber-bead, or the stone spindle-whorl. We may therefore take this into account.

Could we, however, as by magic be presented with a vision in which was taking place the burial of a warrior of four thousand years back in one of these Cotswold barrows, we should perhaps have much to marvel at. We should see either a small, dark-skinned and dark-haired people, or a tall one, fair-haired and moustachiod, gathered together to one of their funeral feasts, and making the landscape resound with loud lament. They would be dressed in coarse woven stuff, perhaps patterned with colour and adorned with hair and feathers, neatly fastened by thongs of leather or by pins of hard wood, or thorns. Some of those nearest in blood to the dead and their slaves would be carrying food vessels, skilfully woven by the work of women's fingers from the bark of trees and the fibre of plants that are still quite common around us ; and in these would be observed the ritual food and drink, intended partly to be consumed at the feast, partly to be buried with the

defunct, for the barrow and the "temple" were one to those peoples. Others would carry bundles of dry wood, sticks of hazel, &c., for the incineration of the corpse. Other figures would be seen a little farther off guarding the victims—sheep and oxen—to be slain as offerings to the unknown. Still another might be observed carrying the hardwood bow and arrows with flint heads in a reed quiver, and yet another bearing the flint axes used by the deceased, and, lastly, we might see one striking the tough shield of the dead warrior, and calling on the ghosts of their ancestors. I need not fill up the picture for you.

But assuredly, could we speak and question these people about their arts and about their predecessors, we should be answered that they knew absolutely nothing about palæolithic man, or of the strange animals with which we know now that he must have lived in contact. They would doubtless boast of their superiority to their own enemies and immediate predecessors, but even these would, we should find, be described as people possessing rather similar arts, and trading in flint weapons and baskets, nets and skins. It would, in fact, be much like encountering some wild American-Indian or Maori tribe and assisting at their ceremony. But as to their own manufactures, they would show us many remarkable things. We should be handling flint knives set in hard horn, or wooden hafts bound round wondrously fast with gut or cord. We should find that numbers of so-called flint scrapers, instead of being applied for merely scraping skins of bird and beast, were dexterously used in making basket splints, mats, wicker huts, and possibly cradles for the tribal babies. In short, we should become rapidly acquainted with not merely the industrial arts of peoples so far unacquainted with metals, but with the skill of their women-kind, who probably made most of these articles; moreover, wove the handsome ritual food vessels, and baked the clay urns for the graves of their deceased lords.

Now it might be thought that I have pushed the point of the vanished and forgotten basket-wares too far in obtaining a

picture; that I have perhaps strained a point, which is after all only to be hall-marked 'probable.' But I venture to think that when the ancient literary evidence, so far as it goes, is brought to bear on that point, I shall be acquitted.

It stands in all simplicity thus. Among the few words surviving to-day from our Celtic forbears, and adopted into our Saxon language, are the words *caul*, from *cawell* (Welsh); *calla* (Irish), a net or caul, or basket; and *basged*, itself direct from the Welsh. It is obvious from their adoption that the Saxon invaders had no words equivalent to them, and probably did not manufacture the things at all; hence they borrowed these words from the Romanised Celts of Western Britain—Brythons or Goidhels. That is a solid etymological fact, but it is not enough perhaps, by itself, to sufficiently substantiate the point. Let us, therefore, turn to the works of the second-century Roman poet Martialis (Bk. xiv. 99), and there we find it written:—

> "Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis
> Sed me jam mavolt dicere Roma suam."

That is to say, "I am a basket made by the painted Britons, but already Rome appropriates me and prefers to call me her own."

This is, indeed, a surprising tribute. To be considered worthy of a Roman poet's epigram, as well as of Rome's envy, can only mean that the British aborigines furnished astonishingly fine woven baskets, and these, coming from the heart of this island, were imported for sale into Italy. But this testimony does not stand alone. Juvenal, the satirical poet, also of Trajan's day, in Satire XII., R.T,, refers to these very same "British baskets," among the stock cast out of a friend's imperilled ship with the rest of the cargo, in order to lighten her. As for the "coracle," Celtic name and thing, that survives with us still, as well as the Severn salmon-kype, these take us back to days probably behind the occupation of Cotswold by the Brythonic Dobuni.

After this, then, is it not possible that, like many a traveller who has found himself in contact with savage tribes, we, the imaginary spectators of such a scene as that suggested, would have found ourselves not surprised so much at the lack of art among those ancient barrow-raisers, but at the very abundance of it?

I hope I am not going too far if I venture to think that the civilisation of even the long-barrow period, looked at from such a point of view, does not seem quite so dry, so cold, or so unpromising a subject as often it is said to do. Neither, I may add, does it appear quite so remote and unget-at-able. For we ought in nowise to be appalled at any gaps in the written record, nor by any others; neither ought we to feel that Romano-British civilisation, because of its wealth of inscribed monumental record in Britain, is the furthest back about which we need seriously to trouble ourselves.

If we were to do this, we should at a stroke forego forming for ourselves what is most necessary—an adequate conception of the exceedingly interesting late-Celtic civilisation, which the Roman civilisation invaded and by the too-potent uniformity of its own art overcame, although fortunately it failed to obliterate.

This late-Celtic art was not at all of the primitive kind expatiated upon just now. The difference between the art of, say, the long-barrow Period, and it was far greater than the difference between it and the contemporaneous Roman art; for both the latter belonged to the Iron Age. The Bronze Age had intervened.

This is not merely to be concluded from the fact that whereas the former was a stone age and the other the metallic—but by bronze-embossed shields and helmets found in the Thames, more beautiful than any purely Roman works of their date; by the exquisite mirror, sword-haft and bronze bowl found near Birdlip in 1889; by the coins, both gold and silver, that, however rough, were minted in Britain and in the neighbourhood long before the Roman Conquest under Claudius—but

it is to be understood, above all, by the marked rapidity with which the southern and central Britons took on both the language, costume, and arts of their conquerors, and which Agricola found it so far from difficult to encourage, that Tacitus asserts in the year A.D. 80 the toga was already frequently worn by the natives, and that though until recently they had held the Roman language in disdain, many were now anxious to become eloquent in it. Moreover, he relates that they took readily to the baths, porticoes, and even to the "elegancies" of the table.[1] It has taken three centuries for the American Indian to make an equivalent advance. Plutarch refers to a Greek Grammarian, one Demetrius or Tarsus, who had taught Latin in Britain; and Juvenal, early in the second century, mentions British lawyers being instructed by Gaulish schoolmasters. Later on we find British builders actually imported to Autun in Gaul (France). It is not unlikely that most of the teachers, like the soldiers, who exercised their profession in Britain were Romanised Celts from Gaul, and these may have understood more than one Celtic tongue, in addition to Latin. This would also apply to trade-guild-men, such as the mosaic-workers, who had learned their designs and technique, not in Italy, but in Gaul and Spain. What they spoke, then, besides Latin was either Belgic or Celtic; but that was not, as is sometimes stated, precisely Welsh, though doubtless allied to it. So completely did they take on the Latin tongue, that the very labourers of the third century, in the brickfield at Silchester, scrawled Latin phrases upon their wet bricks, as also did a potter at Radstock, and doubtless others.

How then, it will be asked, has it come about that we almost habitually think and talk of the ancient Britons as barbarous, or as painted savages, if they were not really so? How was it that Cæsar so spoke of them, and as we heard just now Juvenal, a century and more later than Cæsar?

This is due to two reasons. First, that there were at least

[1] *Vita Agricolæ*, c. 21.

four different peoples inhabiting Britain when the Romans first visited it, and it took them some time to understand and differentiate between the Belgic Brythons, the Goidhelic Celts of the remoter parts, the dark Iberian Silures, and the painted aborigines or Picts, some of whom were independent of their neighbours, and some were not. Many of these may have been prisoners to the others, and served in their camps, or formed a conquered section becoming absorbed by the conquerors.

Secondly, it is due to the peculiarly deceptive effect of Roman civilisation; for by its overpowering unity of purpose, and its sternly generalising method of administration, it has made the Celtic civilisation, which it displaced and partly absorbed, appear to us insignificant and out of all proportion. Its mechanical brilliance has made the other seem obscure, and hence justice is only to-day being done to it. We are apt to take every fibula found on a Romano-British site too readily for a Roman one.

To-day, however, by as it were mentally using a tinted medium, the archæologist finds himself enabled to scrutinise that great Roman luminary in Britain far more realistically. He can also compare its effect upon other, if lesser, luminaries, and can attempt to measure their effects upon it. The result of research more and more tends to proclaim their various strong individualities. Moreover, it tends to show that certain of the inhabitants of Britain were not by any means dark before Rome shone upon them, nor were they immediately dark after Rome had become eclipsed.

One special result of this latter-day scrutiny has been to show that though the Roman subdued and dispossessed the paramount British Celts, and though his art displaced theirs, it did not extinguish it. Like some stately monster, so to speak, he passed over and fed upon the pasture with the wild bees and ants that fed upon its flowers, and killed a few, and he maimed many more; but the pasture, with its flowers, rose up again after he had passed by, though where his heavy

feet had rolled it the growth became perhaps even more luxuriant. But finally the native ant built her nest and reared her young, and the native bee went on making hexagonal cells and filling them with rare honey.

Now these ants and bees, for the sake of the simile, here represent the more civilised Celtic races in Britain, whose warriors (until the Roman conquest) drove beautiful chariots and sometimes carried enamelled shields and swords. The very latest post-Roman labours and outputs of their dying Art are exemplified in the beautiful early crosses, enamelled brooches, bowls and sword-hilts—things representing æsthetic influences both un-Roman and pre-Roman, that rose up again out of Western Britain and Ireland after the withdrawal of the official legions early in the fifth century. These reviving traditions and influences were, it would seem, gradually progressing eastward from the West in Britain when the Saxon, or Teutonic, shock of barbarism, worse in some respects than the previous Roman one, repelled it once more, and forced it back upon its former refuge, namely upon Wales and Ireland.

Now, it is owing very largely to this event that archæological light is so sorely needed to illumine the century and more immediately following the departure of the legions. That hundred and seventy years of civilised life, almost unaffected by the slow advance of the Saxon in this south-western part of Britain, is perhaps the darkest spot both in the Christian and secular history of our island—the veritable blot in the historic firmament of Britain. Upon it, accordingly, we ought to concentrate as much hopeful scrutiny as possible, because, although the documentary evidence relating to it is, perforce, deplorably weak, other evidence is not so wanting as to warrant the supposition of some writers that fourteen generations of organised Romano-British civilisation fell in a decade or so to chaos, or nothing ; that its acquired and settled laws and methods became suddenly a dead letter, that its trade, internal and foreign, entirely ceased ; that methodical estate-management, good building and farming, and cloth-weaving

and dyeing, decayed; that local municipal governments, that military provisions and defences ceased to exist; or, finally, that the sense of empire died out with the Latin language. Neither the Latin language died out nor Roman influences, but we can do little more than just prove it.

All this could verily be supposed only did we retain suppositions—once prevalent, but now happily put to rest—that the departed garrison of Roman Britain had been composed of Roman soldiers, actually born and bred in Italy, that the builders and dwellers in our villas and towns, such as Corinium and Glevum, and Silchester, or Calleva, were citizens and officials of the Latin race merely rewarded for services with lands carved out of a new province twelve hundred miles to the north-west of their natural abodes in Italy. We were further than that distance out in our reckoning.

We know that nothing of the sort happened, and this cannot be repeated too frequently. Instead of having been composed of Italians, far less of Romans, the Roman legions were made up of men from the three Gauls, from the Rhine, from the lands of the Danube, from Helvetia, and from Northern Spain. The governors of Britain, it is true, were, at any rate during the first two centuries, Romans or Latins, as were many, though certainly not all, of the commanders, tribunes and prefects. But even the legions recruited in Italy herself, like the emperors, were very far from being purely Latin in those days; and much less could it be expected that any especially Latin legions should be drafted into a remote province with a climate to which not only were they unused, but of which they entertained a lively horror. There were 8,000 Britons already enrolled in the army of Vitellius in A.D. 69. The army which in the third, fourth and fifth centuries constituted the permanent garrison of Britain was nowise an army resembling that of Julius Cæsar of three hundred and more years earlier. It was, on the contrary, composed largely of Celts of various conquered nationalities, which had been themselves completely Romanised, and had,

moreover, derived from Romanised Celtic parents. These, while permanently stationed here during three centuries, had married women born in the land, generation after generation, and had been recruited also with drafts raised again and again among Celtic, Iberic and Teutonic tribes across the water. That is the stuff of which the Roman legions in Britain were made, and the funeral inscriptions found all over the land relating to their officers tell us the one unfailing story. Their names reveal them to have been "barbarians" latinised. The owners of these names were more or less completely Romanised Celts, possibly becoming more and more British or Brythonic as time went on.

What would be the natural sequence of effects consequent upon the withdrawal *c.* A.D. 406 of the four permanent legions thus composed? How would the legions themselves regard it? The legions might be glad of the change from Northern and Eastern Britain to a desirable southern climate, might be glad to look for less hard living and more fighting, or at any rate for more adventure. But were they not leaving behind them their friends and families, and many possessions? When they quitted Britain they left behind them men and women born like themselves and educated to Romano-British ideas in life, both public (municipal and military) and private (familiar and social), and perhaps well able, at least for a time, to take good care of themselves. And our evidence, so far as it goes, warrants our believing that these effectually did so.

It must, moreover, be recollected that the fourth century, or that extending from Diocletian's time through Constantine down to Honorius and the departure of the legions, had been, as evidence of many kinds has shown us, the most prosperous of all in Britain. It is to that period we owe the greater part of the remains met with in this island, though many villas doubtless date like Woodchester from the second, and probably none at all to the first century. In A.D. 363 Britain had been able to supply from her own superabundance the corn which

staved off the severe famine afflicting Rhenish Gaul and beyond the Rhine. Of the Roman coins that are found in this country, one would judge those of the fourth century to outnumber the rest at the rate of ten to one of the first century, five to one of the second, and about three to one of the third. The almost infinite amount of extremely small change is practical witness, bad though the coins be, of the activity of civilised commerce.

Unfortunately, throughout this fourth century Roman Art of all kinds, and in all lands, had been undergoing rapid degeneration. Now we could scarcely expect art in Britain to improve when Roman art was everywhere else on the decline. Roman ideas of art, of construction, naturally declined here as they did elsewhere, and we are not going to say that of a consequence the long-suppressed or isolated Celtic art rapidly revived in order to fill the gap created. But what we do say is that almost at the very moment of the recall of the legions, Christianity, which hitherto in Britain seems to have numbered merely isolated, well-to-do converts, and the more cultivated among its adherents, received its first real impulse in South-Western Britain from the missionary disciples of St. Martin of Tours, who had died in A.D. 397. It was still one hundred and sixty years before the landing of St. Columba at Iona, and one hundred before Gildas and St. David were to be trained in the theological college of Llantwit, in what is now Glamorganshire, and it was just two hundred years before the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent.

With the advent of fresh devotional needs, it would be natural that to their service would become attracted whatever elements of art did remain in the land, whether these elements were Roman or Celtic. As, however, the least-prepared, as well as the least-disturbed, portions of Britain were naturally those in the west, it was equally natural that any revival of religious art, however feeble, should emanate from thence, rather than from the areas more chronically concerned with combating the Saxon invaders.

What we have to show then is, first, that Roman influences did long survive here, especially in South-West Britain; and, secondly, that local Celtic art did very slowly re-awaken from its sleep, but that it only became fully awakened at last under the wings of the Western Church, that is, under the religious influences radiated from certain established centres of Christianity in these islands. Situated as Corinium was at the crossing of two main trunk-roads, it would have formed a natural centre for missionary work. Unfortunately, we have no proof yet forthcoming that it did so.

In the first place the Saxon throughout this period continued, as he had long been, pressing along the east and southern coast and through the lands adjacent; but in the last decades of the fifth century he was destined to consolidate his hold, and to begin his substantial conquest of this island. But in spite of his often successful onslaughts, his progress was remarkably slow. Even the great and small Roman roads do not seem to have helped him as might have been concluded they would do. This surely reveals how effectual was the native resistance offered. He did not reach the neighbourhood of Bath and Cirencester until one hundred and seventy years after the legions had left. He did not capture Exeter until the ninth century. So that all this portion of Cotswold England, with its solid cities and villas, continued, we may presume, its decadent Romano-British life, not necessarily very peacefully, or free from Celtic, tribal and family conflicts, Irish invasions, &c.; but as best it might. We lack almost all written records of it, and therefore have to weigh other evidences, whatever these may be.

Now what is the main fact recorded for us concerning the ill-fated British force which opposed the Saxon in 577 at Dyrham? Why, we are told that three British kings, or leaders, who fell before it in the desperate battle were the rulers of Bath, Glevum, and Corinium: that is, they were found fighting, but, most strange to say, united against the common enemy. Moreover, their names are absolutely Celtic—

Kynmægl, Kynddydan, and Farin-mægl, the second of whom Professor Rhys has identified with Kynddylan, of early Welsh literature, who kept his court at Pengwern, otherwise Shrewsbury, which the Saxon Ceawlin presently ravaged and burned.

This banding together, however, of the Celtic leaders is precisely what we should least expect. Is that how, later on, they let the Norman into Ireland? Not at all. And, moreover, listen to what Tacitus says of their characteristic conduct in Britain four hundred years before: "It is seldom that even two or three communities concur in repelling the common danger, and thus, while they engage single-handed, all are subdued by us."[1] The conclusion is irresistible that the lesson of unity taught by Roman civilisation had by no means been forgotten, even in the later half of the sixth century, at any rate in this region of Britain.[2] Why, then, should we doubt that the rest of British civilisation at that time more or less faithfully reflected its former sources of inspiration? There were yet two other reasons which must have emphatically conduced to weld the Britons into that unity, and that was the fact that they were now Celtic Christians fighting in the Roman manner for

[1] *Vita Agricolæ*, c. 12.

[2] I am indebted to the Rev. Charles Taylor for the following apposite and helpful note:—If Henry of Huntingdon is to be trusted, Roman military discipline survived at least until 591. "*Tertio autem post hunc anno Brittanni et Saxones bellum constituerunt apud Wodnesbirue. Cum autem Brittones, more Romanorum, acies distincte admoverent, Saxones vero audacter et confuse irruerent, maximum prælium factum est, concessitque Deus victoriam Brittannis.* (M.H.B. 714, C.) Three years after this the Britons and Saxons joined battle at Wodnesbeorg. For when the Britons advanced their hosts in marshalled order, after the Roman fashion, while the Saxons charged forward rashly and without discipline, a mighty fight ensued, and God granted victory to the Britons." As a result of the battle Ceawlin, King of the West Saxons, was driven from his realm after reigning for more than thirty years. Henry is a picturesque writer with a taste for old ballads, but though he wrote more than five centuries after the battle, it is likely enough that he had access to good authorities which are not now extant.

hearth and home against the pagan Teutonic invader; and, secondly, that the Roman road system in these parts of Britain constituted so grand and easy a means of inter-communication. For the space of, perhaps, one hundred and twenty years before that battle there had been a Celtic or British Church, both in Ireland and South Britain, owning organisation, and actively propagating Christianity through regions more or less prepared not to violently resist its teaching. From Jocelin of Furness (xii. c.) we learn that Theonus, Bishop of Glevum, who had been Bishop of London A.D. 542, fled from his ruined See into Wales with all his Clergy in 586.[1]

At the date of the battle Gildas had been educated at Llantwit Major some fifty years, and St. Columba had undertaken the conversion of the Picts at Iona only fifteen years before it—that is, about A.D. 563—and these, like Nennius, wrote in the Latin language, and we must infer they used the Roman alphabetical characters.

A question, therefore, asked of archæology is, What manner of art-work, however degenerated in style, prevailed in Celtic Britain during that dark one hundred and fifty years, in which had become actually constituted in it a pre-Augustinian British Church, as apart from a mere sporadic efflorescence of Christianity here and there in these islands? Was it Roman or was it Celtic in its characteristics? or did it partake of both?

Inasmuch as archæology can yet give it any answer, it can only say there were at work combined Celtic and Roman-Byzantine influences. In so far as Roman art was concerned, things had woefully degenerated, as surviving inscriptions show. There appears to have been little that could or can be dignified with the name of art. The ferment in many portions of the land consequent upon the Saxon progress undoubtedly checked whatever output there was. The Celtic style of the Christian or post-Augustinian period immediately succeeding must have been forming, but that was not to take

[1] Stubbs, *Episcopal Succession*, p. 151.

its distinctive, concrete shape until after the conversion of the Saxons themselves during the seventh century. At least, so seem our scarce evidences to say.

In so far, then, as the fatal sixth century is concerned, we have little more evidence to show than the oghamic inscribed stones, and a few sepulchral stones, and the bronze bowls from Chesterton-on-Fossway. But we may at least point to their significant distribution. Let me, therefore, call to your minds the nature of ogham.[1] An oghamic inscription is a Celtic inscription or epitaph made according to a code invented by some Romano-Briton, with vertical strokes placed above, below, or across a horizontal line. But a few years ago oghams were supposed to be mere tallies. It is now known that it was devised as a system to be understood by the specially instructed, and was contrived by some academic Celt or grammarian either in Ireland or in South Wales. It has been recognised that the inventor derived his written characters from numeral strokes on Roman scoring-boards. Here again, then, is direct Roman influence. For although the Celts had even in pre-Roman days been used to mark the tombs of their great men with large stones—(and these oghamic stones are sepulchral stones with epitaphs set up over illustrious Christian dead)—it was not at any time the custom of the Celt to inscribe his funeral monolith. Therefore here is yet one more distinct witness to surviving Roman influence, and to its continuity so often denied nowadays. It was Roman civilisation which had taught the Celt to inscribe these fifth- and sixth-century stones, though it was the ingenuity of an educated Celt which now provided a patent literary code. Finally, it was Christianity which told him what to say.

Oghams have been found in so many places, that although great numbers must perforce have been destroyed, still more are certainly awaiting discovery; and there is no place except

[1] Ogham-Ogmios, a Celtic-Gaulish divinity to whom was attributed the invention of a learned dialect and an alphabet.

Caerwent where the discovery of one would less surprise one or more intensely interest one than in this town of Corinium, lying as it does between Wales and Oxfordshire. The number of them already met with traces distinctly for us an eastward movement from Ireland and South Wales. But at the very period that this must have been taking place, the slow Saxon invasion was as surely consolidating itself westward for the great blow to be delivered at Dyrham in A.D. 577.

Let us look, then, for a moment at what we may call the ogham track—the areal distribution of these oghamic inscriptions. Ireland, to start with, has yielded 148, Wales 20, Devon and Cornwall 3. And until a few years ago we thought these marked the eastward limit of their probable distribution. But while the well-known excavations were proceeding in Silchester, near Reading, a fresh example came to light there, and at present that marks for us the extreme eastward limit of that Celtic movement. It is, in fact, its last boundary-stone. We may be certain that it could not have stood in site many years ere there resounded about it the clash of Saxon arms, and it was overthrown. "It was put up," says Mr. Haverfield, "by some western Celt, who must have reached and lived at Silchester before that town was abandoned by its citizens or burned by the Saxon." For we know that the Saxons occupied what is now Hampshire in about A.D. 510.

Several of the Welsh examples of ogham are bi-lingual, though this one is not so. Hence those inscriptions were addressed to Christian passers-by, who knew this academic code, and also to any of those who could read Latin, yet might not understand ogham. The Roman official language of the province, therefore, must have prevailed and been taught still during the early sixth century, but the second language or code, adopted for Christian funeral inscriptions, had now become ogham. Those inscribed on stone and lead have survived; those on wood or parchment have perished.

But for the fact that we possess evidence as to the real revival of a definitely Celtic art in Saxon Britain during the

eighth and ninth centuries, as illustrated by the beautiful strap and plait-work crosses, of which Gloucester Museum contains portions of two examples, we should rather regard these Celtic oghams as the last dying speech and confession of Roman civilisation than as a token of the beginning of a Celtic revival.

On the other hand, the key to the ogham alphabet has been handed down to us, not in Roman literature, but in early Irish MSS., and the means of proving the correctness of it was supplied by an ogham stone found at St. Dogmael, near Cardigan. Now, of the finely decorated Irish MS., the earliest that we possess is undoubtedly the Book of Lindisfarne in the British Museum, written by Bishop Eadfrith, whose date is A.D. 698–721, which is nearly two hundred years later than the setting up of the Celtic ogham stone at Silchester; but it is also more than one hundred after the battle which threw Corinium and Glevum into the hands of the Saxon. In this Book of Lindisfarne or St. Cuthbert, well-developed forms of Celtic art with Saxon elements are found to have already coalesced and influenced one another; so that it can safely be concluded that, but for later Saxon and other devastations, we should possess still earlier examples of this transitional interminglement of Saxon and Hibernian art; and that these would have illustrated, if ever so meagrely, the primitive stages of the obscure Celtic revival. For this art, having originally been what may be truly called a development of the late Iron Age, say 400 B.C. to A.D. 150, had suffered suppression during the Roman period, and had retreated into Wales and Ireland, from whence, charged with Lombardic, Saxon, and even Scandinavian elements, it again struggled back to existence as Christian Celtic art, revealing itself by its curious love of spirals and elliptical curves applied to the treatment of plant and animal forms. During the seventh and eighth centuries it re-emerged in the splendid knot and plait-work designs which we see upon Celtic crosses, sepulchral slabs, and enamelled jewellery. It attained its

fleeting perfection before the Norman Conquest. It was an art, the origin of which carries us directly back to the prehistoric Ægean civilisation, and yet one so gifted with life, that, spite of all vicissitudes, it was thus destined to reappear after the western Empire of Rome had fallen, and cover portions of these islands with monuments, such as were once those fragmentary crosses at Gloucester, and others doubtless still to be discovered. For upon sculptured stones and MSS. of this Christian period in Britain are found again the identical Celtic patterns, which have come to light in works of the late bronze period, disclosed in the Glastonbury Lake-village. The famous Tara brooch of the Christian Celt, the books of Kells and Durrow, and the bronze crucifixion (plaque) from Athlone are all of early date in Christian Celtic art. They and their kindred objects were small and perishable, and few examples have survived until to-day. But they had predecessors and rivals; and these must have been produced in Western Britain by metal-workers, scribes and designers precisely within the dark hundred and seventy years after the official close of the Roman occupation; and it is to be earnestly hoped that, like that of the ogham inscription at Silchester, further enlightening discoveries will be made belonging to that period.

I have spoken of certain dark periods. It will be well to reflect that the little light which we painfully get is only a spark here and there amid the perhaps unknowable. But, aware of that, the only thing left to do seems to be for each one of us to multiply these humble sparks until we may hope to contribute them to a steady, continuous flame. The harvest for which archæology is now sowing in many fields will be gathered gratefully in a far future.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF TRADITION:

AN ADDRESS TO A MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY HELD AT GLOUCESTER, 9TH MARCH, 1904.

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

I FELT somewhat diffident when asked to preside this evening and to deliver an address, because the special direction of my own studies is not exactly what is usually known as archæology. That is to say, those studies are not chiefly concerned with the material fabrics which remain to us from the past. Incidentally, they often touch them; and I am by no means insensible to the fascination or the scientific importance of the arts and industries of our forefathers. But what interest me far more than these are the traditions which bear witness to a remoter past than is recorded in history—the beliefs, the customs, the institutions, the sayings and doings that spring from ideas of life and mental conditions proper rather to savagery than civilisation. The objects of this study are not as a rule to be found in the cathedrals or the churches, the castles, the palaces, or the Roman camps familiar to the archæologist. There are, it is true, other material relics of the past in which we are more likely to find hints, and something more than hints, of those earlier ideas of life and mental conditions, namely the prehistoric remains, the camps and barrows, numerous on the hill-tops around us, and the lake-villages and standing stones of the adjacent counties of Somerset, Wilts and Oxford. But the ideas of which we gather information from these remains are limited alike in number and range. We may learn something, for instance, of the burial customs of our barbarian predecessors, but we can discover nothing of other matters equally important to their rudimentary civilisation, such as their marriage customs and the details of their government and

organisation. And when we want to understand the meaning of their burial customs, so different from ours, we must interpret them by the customs and beliefs of the savage and barbarous peoples yet living in distant lands, which that other study—call it "folk-lore," call it "ethnology," call it what you will—takes into account.

Indeed, there are many of our own customs which we cannot explain save by those of savages. In a military funeral the deceased soldier's horse is led to the grave. This is meaningless until we learn that in a lower stage of civilisation horses and dogs and slaves, and even wives and other companions of the dead man are led to the grave and buried with him, to accompany him to the other world. That some such custom as this was once practised here there is reason to believe from the remains we find in the sepulchral barrows of this country. The only relic of it which is left in our ceremonies is that of leading the soldier's horse in the funeral.

The barrows also disclose other customs, some of which we have abandoned, and some that still linger among the peasantry. The study of the remains would often be puzzling if we did not know that a funeral feast, though no longer practised here at the grave and in the presence of the dead, is still part of the burial rites in other countries, and even within the limits of Europe. It is not very long since this was done, and for aught I know it may still be done, at Argentière, in the south of France. Immediately after the burial at Argentière the feast was spread, and the table of the *curé* and the family was placed upon the grave itself. The dinner ended, everyone, led by the nearest of kin, drank the health of the departed.[1] Such a feast is the solemn farewell, and the dead man is supposed to be a partaker.

There is a great barrow called Willy Howe, about three hundred feet in circumference and sixty feet in height, near Wold Newton, in Yorkshire. Though no remains have been

[1] Laisnel dela Salle, *Croyances et Légendes du Centre de la France*, ii. 81.

found within it, there is little doubt that it is a burial mound. In the belief of the rustics of the neighbourhood it is the abode of fairies. One night a man was riding home from the village of North Burton, when he heard, as he drew near, sounds of merriment issuing from the Howe. He saw a door open in the side of the mound, and riding close to it, he looked in, and beheld a great feast. One of the cupbearers approached and offered him drink. He took the cup, threw out the contents, and galloped off. The fairy banqueters gave chase, but he succeeded in distancing them and reaching home with his prize in safety. The king heard of the event, and the cup, which was equally strange in form, colour and material, was presented to him. Now this story, current to-day in the vicinity, is told by William of Newbridge in the thirteenth century. The chronicler identifies the king to whom the cup was given as Henry I., and adds that the king gave it to his brother-in-law, David, King of the Scots, one of whose successors, William the Lion, gave it to Henry II.

A contemporary of William of Newbridge, Gervase of Tilbury, Marshal of the Kingdom of Arles, wrote a curious book called *Otia Imperialia*, in which are many of the characteristic stories and speculations of that age of credulity. He tells us an interesting Gloucestershire tale parallel to this one of Willy Howe, and declares it to be well known (*satis divulgatum*). In a hunting forest of the county, full of boars, deer, and all sorts of game according to the circumstances of England, there was a glade, and in this glade a hillock rising to the height of a man. Knights and other hunters were wont, when fatigued with heat and thirst, to ascend the hillock and there seek relief. It had to be done singly, all companions being left at a distance. The adventurous man would then say: "I thirst!" Immediately a cupbearer would appear at his side in a distinguished dress and with jovial countenance, and offer him a large drinking-horn adorned with gold and gems, such as was used among the ancient English, and containing liquor of some unknown but most delicious flavour. When he had drunk this

all heat and weariness fled from his body. The cupbearer presented him with a napkin to wipe his mouth withal, and then, having performed his office, he disappeared, waiting neither for recompense nor inquiry. This had been a matter of frequent and even daily occurrence from time immemorial, when one day a knight of the city, having gotten the horn into his hands, contrary to custom and good manners kept it. But he soon had cause to regret his conduct, for his lord, the illustrious Earl of Gloucester, having ascertained the facts, condemned the robber to death, and gave the horn to King Henry I., lest he should be thought to be a promoter of such wickedness if he had added the rapine of another to the store of his own private property.

Several questions arise upon this remarkable tale. Who was the Earl of Gloucester referred to? There were two Earls of Gloucester in the reign of Henry I. The first of them was Robert FitzHamon, who fought at Hastings as one of the Conqueror's companions, who built Tewkesbury Abbey Church and Cardiff Castle, and died in 1107. The other was Robert, the natural son of Henry I. and Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales. He was created Earl of Gloucester in 1109, and having outlived his father, became his sister Matilda's most devoted supporter in her wars against Stephen for the crown of England. Gervase's work was addressed to the Emperor Otho IV., Matilda's son. He speaks of King Henry as the Emperor's grandfather in this very passage. If the Earl of Gloucester mentioned in the story had been the Emperor's uncle, surely Gervase would have indicated the relationship. Since he does not, we must conclude that he means Robert FitzHamon, and that the event was alleged to have happened about a hundred years before the time of his writing, which was the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The next question relates to the horn, and here everybody would agree we get to archæology proper. It would be interesting to trace, if we could, the horn and the cup of Willy Howe, two vessels of supernatural origin, both of them reported to

have been in the possession of Henry I., and one of them at least in the possession of Henry II. Could we find them, they might throw unexpected light on the stories, by the style of their art, whether native or foreign, and its age. With this view, I got Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., some years ago, very kindly to search the ancient inventories of the regalia and the wardrobe, and also the plate and jewel accounts of our Plantagenet kings. I am sorry to say he searched in vain. No trace of either vessel was to be found. If we could at least have known from these authentic records that there really were two remarkable vessels in the royal possession, upon whose strange form the popular imagination might have fastened, we should have had to that extent a corroboration of the writers to whom we are indebted for the stories. I think, however, there can be no doubt that Gervase, like William of Newbridge, is relating a local tradition. It was a variant of a very widespread tale, common to all Celtic and Teutonic lands, which had even found its way into the *Conte del Graal*, the great poem on the subject of the Holy Grail, by Chrestien de Troyes, written about the year 1170, thirty or forty years before Gervase of Tilbury wrote. If the story were a local tradition of Gloucester, no doubt the exact spot where the theft occurred was pointed out. Where this was we cannot now say. The mention of the hunting forest full of boars, deer, and all sorts of game, evidently in close proximity to the city, seems to indicate the Forest of Dean. Whether any glade containing a barrow or mound corresponding to the description given can now be discovered is a problem for those who are better acquainted than I am with the forest topography. The population of the forest has so changed, particularly during the last two hundred years, that it is hopeless to discover the story any longer, like that of Willy Howe, in local tradition.

How are we to interpret the tale? And what does it tell us of the beliefs of the ancient inhabitants of Gloucester and of the Forest? It is not enough to say vaguely and contemptuously: It tells us that they believed in fairies and suchlike

nonsense. Our forefather's beliefs are as much worthy of study as their art. Their art and their beliefs are inextricably interwoven, two strands in the web of their civilisation; and a knowledge of the one is incomplete without a knowledge of the other. Let us turn to the Yorkshire tale recorded by William of Newbridge. Its scene is laid at a mound which is a sepulchral barrow. It represents the dwellers in the mound as engaged in feasting. They are not called fairies by William of Newbridge, nor is there anything to show that they were so regarded when he wrote, whatever may be the case now after the lapse of seven hundred years and the further decay of primitive beliefs. The mound was the abode of the dead, and it must have been the dead who were found feasting by the belated horseman. This need not surprise us. The dead are often conceived by barbarous peoples as leading under the earth a kind of life similar to that which they led while upon it. As they loved the pleasures of feasting while upon the earth, so in their graves they continue to indulge the same taste. The indulgence is not confined to a single farewell feast with the living. In the east of Yorkshire there is much Norse blood. Many of the Vikings reaved and slew and ultimately settled there. An Icelandic saga relates how a shepherd belonging to one of the Norse settlers in Iceland fared after his sheep one evening of harvest to a hill called Holyfell. "There he saw how the hill was opened on the north side, and in the fell he saw mighty fires, and heard huge clamour therein, and the clank of drinking-horns; and when he hearkened, if perchance he might hear any words clear of others, he heard" his master's name. His master, Thorstein, and his crew were welcomed to the feast; and Thorstein "was bidden to sit in the high seat over against his father." That night Thorstein was drowned while out fishing.[1] Here it is quite clear that the assembly within the holy hill is that of the dead. True, the burial mounds of this country are rarely of Norse origin But it is impossible to draw any hard and fast line of beliefs with

[1] W. Morris, *The Ere-dwellers' Saga*, p 19.

regard to the dead between the Norsemen and the Neolithic or the Bronze Age peoples who reared the barrows of South Britain. All alike believed in a life after death led within the barrow; all alike were worshippers of the dead; all alike buried with the corpse, or the ashes, arms and implements and utensils. The arms, implements and utensils thus buried were not buried there simply as a barren honour. They were buried there because they belonged to the dead, and were meant for their use. The pottery from the barrows with which we fill our museums was intended for their feasts. Sometimes we find it broken, and not by the careless pick of the workman who unearths it, but purposely broken when it was put in the grave. None the less is it believed to be useful to the dead in the other life. This belief still subsists among our peasantry. A clergyman wrote to me a little while ago about an incident that happened in a little town in Lincolnshire of which he was rector. "One day," he said, "my churchwardens called my attention to a newly-made grave, on which lay a mug and jug, evidently quite freshly broken, and said: 'The boys have been at it again [stone-throwing], and, what 's more, have stolen the flowers that Widow D. had put upon her husband's grave.' I saw at once that no stone had caused the fractures, so putting off my officials with some excuse, I went to see the widow, and said to her: 'Well, Mrs. D., how came you to forget to give your old man his mug and his jug?' 'Ah, sir,' she replied, 'I knew you would understand all about it. I was that moidered with crying that I clean forgot to put 'em in the coffin. I puts the groat in his mouth to pay his footing, but blame me if I doesn't leave out t' owd mug and jug. So I goes and does t' next best. I deads 'em both over his grave, and says I to mysen: "My old man, he set a vast of store, he did, by yon mug and jug, and when their ghoastes gets over on yon side he 'll holler out, 'Yon 's mine; hand 'em over to me!'" and I 'd like to see them as would stop him a-having of them an' all.'"[1]

[1] *Folk-Lore*, ix. 187.

The old lady "deaded" her husband's mug and jug; that is, she broke them to set free their "ghoastes" and send them over to "yon side," as when "the golden bowl" of the human body is broken. This is a very common belief, but it is not universal. Apparently even she herself thought that it would have been enough to put the mug and jug whole into the coffin. In the same belief the Neolithic and the Bronze Age peoples of this country buried their pottery and arms very frequently unbroken. Both in practice and in story the tradition has lingered to the present day among the peasantry. The Lincolnshire woman is an example of the one; the legend of Willy Howe is an example of the other.

But if the dead were not too dead to feast, they were not too dead sometimes to share the feasts of mortals, or sometimes to invite mortals to share *their* feasts. In many parts of Europe it is to-day, and in our own country it was formerly, the custom to lay out a meal for the dead on All Hallows' Even, and it is believed that the dead of the family actually enter and partake of it. It is all very well, however, for the dead to partake of food provided for them by the living. It is quite a different thing for the living to partake of the food of the dead. That would unite them with the dead. It would be *death*. Hence, when drink is offered in the Willy Howe story to the belated peasant he dares not drink; he throws the drink away, and makes off with the cup. If now we may interpret our Gloucestershire story as given by Gervase of Tilbury in the same way, it would appear to be a tradition of a burial mound and of burial customs practised in times which were even then remote. It is true the story does speak of the predecessors of the felonious knight, who was of so little credit to the city of Gloucester, as having drunk. But in interpreting folk-tales, general statements of this kind are well known to be mere conjectural explanations offered for the main incident when its real meaning is no longer understood. The main incident here is essentially the same as that of Willy Howe. We are not told that the thief drank. We are only told that "having gotten

the horn into his hands, contrary to custom and good manners he kept it." In both cases the memory of an ancient burial custom is preserved in the imaginative form of a tradition of theft from the dead, or from supernatural beings confounded with the dead. What does puzzle us is the specific statements that both the cup of Willy Howe and the horn mentioned in Gervase of Tilbury's tale were given to King Henry I., and that one of them at least found its way into the hands of his grandson, King Henry II. within the lifetime of the writer who records the transaction.

There is a good deal more to say about burial mounds and the traditions attached to them; but I must leave the subject there, because I want to speak of another tale, not a local story, but yet interesting to Gloucester people because it concerns a famous Gloucestershire man, Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London. You all know how the foundation of his great fortune is said to have been laid. His master was sending out a ship to trade in foreign parts, and gave his dependents an opportunity of joining in the venture. Dick Whittington had nothing but his cat, and he sent that on board the vessel. In the course of her voyage the ship came to a country infested with rats, and there the captain sold the cat for a large sum, to the great profit of Master Dick. A few years ago a paper was read, which is printed in the *Transactions* (vol. xxi.), and in which the writer advocated the historical authenticity of the tale in question. I entirely disbelieve his conclusions.

Whittington died in 1423. No one doubts that the tale did become attached at an early date to his name. There is ample evidence to this effect from the sixteenth century, but none of it dates within a hundred years of his death. We may, therefore, safely pass it over as of no historical value. There is, however, one piece of evidence which at first sight seems of greater weight. The Whittington family, as befitted a county family in those days, had a town house opposite the Booth Hall in Westgate Street, Gloucester. They sold it in

1460, thirty-seven years after Sir Richard's death. It was pulled down in 1862, and in the course of demolition a carved stone figure of a boy holding a cat was found. The figure belongs to the fifteenth century, and is now in the Guildhall Museum, London. The suggestion is that it formed part of a chimneypiece in the house before the Whittingtons sold the property, and that it shows that the family and their contemporaries believed in the cat story. Upon this it has to be observed that either the house in question or some of the adjoining houses (for the *Rental* of 1455 is ambiguous) bore the name of Raton Row, or Rat Row. In a house with such a name, or even in an adjacent house, the symbolism of a boy holding a cat is not very difficult to interpret. And it may have been much more than symbolism. Rats doubtless were in plenty in that part of the town. Inasmuch as a cat is the deadly foe of rats and mice, even the carved figure of a cat would suffice, according to a widespread belief, to frighten them away. If, therefore, it were proved that the effigy is of an earlier date than 1460, and that it was set up in the house while the house belonged to the Whittington family, I should think it very slender evidence of the historical character of the cat story. But, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence that the effigy was set up in the house during the ownership of the Whittington family, or at all. It is merely said to have been "dug up" when the house was demolished; and it may have been brought thither long after the Whittingtons had parted with the property, and may have been simply lying forgotten in the cellar. There is not a tittle of evidence that the cat was ever adopted as a badge by Sir Richard Whittington, or that the story was told of him in his lifetime.

But we can go much further than this. It is easy to show that the cat story was well known long before Dick Whittington was born. The date usually assigned for his birth is about 1350; it is improbable that he was born earlier. A Persian poet and historian, Abdullah, the son of Fazlullah,

who was called Wasáf, or the Describer, wrote a history of Persia fifty years before that, in the year 1299. In this work he describes the island of Keis in the Persian Gulf, and says it derived its name from a pirate named Keis, who with his two brothers left his widowed mother and settled there. She dwelt in the city of Siráf, on the opposite shore of the Gulf, alone and helpless, for her son had dissipated the fortune left by her husband. The captain of a vessel bound from Siráf to India applied to her for a gift on setting out for his voyage; for it was then, the historian says, the custom of masters and captains of ships on such occasions to ask the poorest people for some gift, which they disposed of to the best advantage at the port whither they were bound. If the voyage proved prosperous, on their return "they repaid the amount of the gift or venture with the profit upon it, and a present besides, proportionate to the good luck with which in their opinion the prayers of the poor donor had blessed their concerns." Now the only property left to the widow was a cat—a Persian cat. The captain took it, and anchoring at an Indian port, he waited on the sovereign with costly presents as, says the historian, is usual. No doubt his object was to get permission to trade there, a proceeding still necessary when entering the dominions of a barbarous potentate. He was graciously received, and invited to dinner. At dinner he was surprised to find every dish guarded by a servant with a rod in his hand against a multitude of mice that swarmed on all sides, ready to devour the viands whenever they got the chance. The next day the captain brought the widow's cat, and we are told "the slaughter was immense." He presented the cat to the astonished and delighted monarch. He himself was rewarded with splendid presents; and the king, in addition, loaded his ship with precious merchandise, the produce of his kingdom, together with slaves, male and female, money and jewels, all to be given to the owner of the cat. The widow's sons, with this wealth, became traders and pirates, and finally founded on the little island a kingdom, which lasted for nearly

two hundred years, until in the year 1230 the descendants of Keis were reduced to vassalage to the Court of Persia.[1]

But even earlier than the Persian historian, Albert, Abbot of Stade, a Benedictine monastery in Germany, had chronicled the tale. Albert became abbot in 1232; and the chronicle which goes under his name ends in 1256, nearly a hundred years before Whittington was born, and was in all probability written and completed at that time. The chronicler lays the scene of the story at Venice, where he tells us there were two fellow-citizens, one rich and the other poor. The rich one was going on a trading voyage, and asked his friend for merchandise. "I have nothing," said the poor man, "beside two cats." The rich man took the cats with him, and came by chance to a country almost entirely devastated by mice. He sold the cats there for a large sum of money, with which he traded and brought back to his friend much wealth.[2] The story is merely given in outline, and is attributed to the beginning of the city when it was founded by fugitives from Aquileia at the time of the siege of that city by Attila, king of the Huns. This points to the tradition as already very old.

Now it is a canon of criticism that the age of a story must not be reckoned from the date when it first appears in writing. It would not get into a chronicle unless it had been previously a long time current, and were then generally believed in the locality. We may be sure, therefore, that both in Persia and at Venice the cat story had been known for generations earlier than the thirteenth century; how many generations it is of course impossible to say. The domestic cat seems to have been familiar in India for many ages; but in Europe it is a comparatively new-comer, having probably been introduced

[1] Sir Gore Ouseley, *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*, 232. Sir W. Ouseley, *Travels*, i. 170, gives an abstract of the story differing in some details.

[2] *Chronicon Alberti Abbatis Stadensis*. Ed. Boeclerus, Strassburg, 1685, p. 292, sub anno 1175.

from Egypt, where it was a sacred animal. It seems to have been well known to the Greeks when Herodotus wrote, in the fifth century before Christ,[1] though probably not to the Romans until much later. In any case, pussy had made herself at home in Europe long enough for the story to be a very old one in the thirteenth century. In the face of these facts, how can we be asked to believe that the cat story truly sets forth the foundation of the famous Dick Whittington's fortunes? The truth is that the story is told all over Europe; it was well known in the Middle Ages, and attached itself to more than one place and more than one noted name. Stories have a way of doing this in every part of the world.

Folk-tales, even the most wonderful, are never founded on nothing. There is always some grain of fact at the bottom of them, if we could penetrate to it. Here the grain of fact probably consists in a custom in early times of contributing to a trading venture very much in the manner described. There were no limited liability companies in those days. The Merchant Shipping Act, with its division of ships into sixty-four shares, had not been invented. A merchant who was going on a voyage, and had not enough of his own goods to fill his ship, would apply to his friends to join in the speculation by contributing such goods as they wanted to barter or sell abroad. Sometimes of course unlikely contributions turned out valuable. Out of such materials the story might easily grow.

Indeed, there is a curious parallel to it in a petition by one William Bragge to "the Company of the East India and Sommer Islands," in the year 1621, in which he claimed £6,875 for divers services rendered. Among these services we

[1] Whether the word used by Herodotus (αἰέλουρος) originally meant the animal we call a cat, or some animal of the weasel tribe, is immaterial. Herodotus (ii. 66) applies it to the sacred animal of Bubastis in Egypt, which we know was the cat. It is true that he does not expressly refer to cats as existing in Greece; but his use of the word without any qualification or explanation gives us the right to infer that the Greeks were then familiar with the cat, and called it αἰέλουρος.

read: "Item, more for 20 Dogges and a greate many Catts which, under God, as by your booke written of late, ridd away and devoured all the Ratts in that Iland [Bermuda], which formerly eate up all your corne, and many other blessed fruites which that land afforded. Well, for theis, I will demand of you but 5 ℔ a piece for the Doggs, and let the Catts goe—100 ℔ . 0 . 0d." In present value that would amount to a trifle of at least £1,000 for cats. How many cats the petitioner sayeth not, but doubtless it would be ample compensation even for "a greate many."[1]

So again, a missionary to the Basuto of South Africa tells us that when he and his coadjutors procured cats the people considered them as a providential benefit. Their huts were infested with rats and mice, and they did not know how to get rid of them. Such was their gratitude to the little creature for ridding the country of the scourge that they would gladly have worshipped it.[2]

The cat story, therefore, is not an impossible tale. But to say this is not to admit that the adventure occurred in the experience of Dick Whittington, or indeed that it actually occurred as related at all. It would at any rate be a very rare occurrence; and seeing that the story was current both in Europe and the East for generations before Whittington was born, it must have happened (if it did happen) far in the immemorial past. Had it happened to him it would have been placed on record during his life, and the land where the cat performed her feats would have been definitely specified. The custom upon which it is founded does not indeed date from a condition of savagery, like the superstitions I have previously referred to; but it does date from a comparatively remote period in the development of trade.

All this may seem very frivolous, and you may say it is

[1] Watkins, *Gleanings from the Natural History of the Ancients*, 64, citing *N. & Q.*, 3rd ser., ii. 345.

[2] Eugène Casalis, *Mes Souvenirs*, 271.

not archæology at all. Well, I will not quarrel over a word, if only you will agree with me in thinking that the study of old tales, old customs, old beliefs is replete with human interest, and, more than that, has a genuine scientific value in helping us to form a conception of the past history of the race, and thereby to understand the present, in a way and to an extent beyond the powers of archæology, if limited to the study of material remains.

THE SILVER PLATE AND INSIGNIA OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

By C. H. DANCEY.

The oldest plate that the city "Record" mentions is the gift of Sir Thomas Bell. It does not say why he gave this present to the city, but we have the following interesting "items" relating thereunto in the city Chamberlayn's "accompts."

"1563. Also payed to John Paynter for the drawinge of Sir Thomas Bell's Armes to the Goldsmith about the cupe that Sir Thomas Bell gave to Mr. Mayor of the said citie and his successors for ever xviij^{d}. Also payed for one ounce of silver to make Scutchine of the same cupe v^{s}. Also payed for one ounce of Amell [enamel] bestowed on the same cupe ij^{s}. Also payed Albert Williams for his Workmanshipe upon the same cupe weininge wth the cover and all three score and seven ounces xv^{s}.

"Also delivered to Albert Williams A pece of Silver beinge the tope of Sir Thomas Bells cupe geven to the said citie to make a seal of it for the bartilmewes landes for the towne which before in this accompts in the title of Receypts of money we charge ourselves for the same yere in value to be at iiij^{s}."

The "tope" is duly accounted for in the "Receypts," but there is no mention, or "item" charged, to show that the same was made into a seal for the "bartilmews" lands.

"1564. A newe comyn Seale in silver for the citie" was made by "Albert Williams the goldsmith," for which he was paid "iij iiij^{d}." During this and the succeeding years there was a great amount of business done for, and

consideration given relating to the lands and property belonging to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in our city, several "items" of money being charged for journeys to London, Bristol and Oxford, also for bringing the "Indenture" down from London to the "Maior and Burgesses." Mr. Richard Pate, who was recorder of the city at this date, and one of the representatives in Parliament also, used his influence with Queen Elizabeth, who by her letters patent dated 14th July, 1564, granted this hospital to the mayor and burgesses of Gloucester, with all its revenues and privileges, on condition that the mayor and burgesses would release an ancient annual pension of £9 2s., paid by the Crown to the hospital, also covenanting that the whole clear yearly profits should be expended upon the hospital and its poor people. (This may explain why the said seal was ordered for the Bartholomews' "town lands.")

There is an instructive item in the receipts of this year's accounts, relating to the office of recorder of this city. It is:—

"Also in money paid to Mr. Henrie Kinge for a Scarlet Gowne, to the use of the recorder for the time beinge xiij lb^s [£13]."

"1614, December 27th. This Day was p^sented from Mr. Willm Guyes of Elmore, A fayer cupp wth A cover doble guilte weigheinge . . . ounces to the use of the Maior and Burgesses of this citty from time to time for ever as the cupp geven by Sir Thomas Bell hath used to doe."

This gentleman was town clerk of the city from 1615 to 1640. "He was given free liberty to go to London for the Hillary, Easter and Trynitie terms, at the cost of the City." The object of the said concession being, that the mayor and burgesses were anxious to have greater control over the revenues of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, as the following minute shows:—

"It is also ordered and agreed at this Councell that Mr. Towne Clark shall take a course for the purchase of the

Hospital and Landes of the Maudlins off the King unto the Maior and Burgesses of this Cittie in such sort as the Bartholomews are, and that the charges thereof shall be disbursed out of the Stock of the Bartholomewes for the present and the same to be repaide out of the Maudlins Lande."

King James I., on January 4th, 1616–7, granted that the hospital should be under the government of the city, and that henceforth it should be called the Hospital of King James, he giving also a pension of thirteen pounds, which was to be called "King James' Pension."

The new ordinances were duly "passed and enacted for the good government being the same that the bartholomewes now hath."

1617, July. One Thomas Varnam was appointed to the office of surveyor of the buildings and "waies" of the city, at a salary of v lb^s^. This must have given him great delight, for we read:—

"In consideration of wch Grant the said Thomas Varnam hath at this house p^r^sented unto the Maior and Comon Councell a faire double guilte Salte of Silver weighinge thirtie and five ounces wth he desireth may goe from maior to another in such sorte as the Cittie Plate now doth."

This worthy died November, 1634, and was buried in the north transept of the cathedral.

1617. Alderman John Thorne gave this year to the Maior and Comon Councell "One Silver and guilte Bason and Ewer w^t^ a case."

This worthy was a brewer; he served the office of sheriff in 1600, and was mayor in 1609. He was a man often called upon to the consideration of and the granting of leases, his name being attached to many such deeds. He was one of the benefactors to the parish of St. Nicholas.

1619. John Baugh, a mercer, one of the aldermen of this city, who had served the office of sheriff in 1596, mayor in 1607, again in 1619, gave for the use of the city "Thirteen Greate Silver and gilte Apostles Spones."

These spoons were remade, half in 1729 by

the others in 1732 by IW He died during his year of mayoralty.

1625, May. "At this house there was a faire guilt tankard w^h a cover p^r sented to Mr. Maior and the Comon Councell to the use of the Maior and Burgesses as a gift from Mr. Walter Huntley, to remayne for ever to the use of the Maior for the tyme beinge weighinge twenty and two ounces and three quarters, wch was thankfully accepted by the whole house."

This man died in 1632, leaving £10 to the city, "to remayne as a Stocke to be lent to two poore men viz. v lb. a yeare to sett them onwork." This to be for three years free of interest.

"1627, August 17th. At this house it is agreed that John Hanbury Esq. in regard he hath married Mr. Alderman Caple's Daughter, shall be admitted a Burgesse, leaving the fine to his discretion."

This gentleman gave to the mayor and burgesses "Two Silver Flaggons." Mr. Hanbury was a citizen of London, one of the burgesses of the Parliament for the city of Gloucester, 1627, he having been selected to succeed his father-in-law, Christopher Capel, Esq. He was a man of prudence and integrity. On July 16th, 1658, he died, aged 84 years, and was buried in the chancel of St. Nicholas Church.

There are other pieces of plate that had been given to the use of mayor and council, of which there is no record as to why or when, but certainly before 1635, as the Inventory for that year contains the first mention there is of these gifts. The chamberlain's account books for the years 1598—1634 are unfortunately not in evidence. The first of these is:—

"Item ane greate silver and gilte cupp and cover given by the Lady Porter."

"Item, Three Silver Canns given by Mr. Keylocke."

This Richard Keylock was admitted to be of the common council on September 6th, 1618, no fine being recorded for

this favour (was the gift in lieu of this ?). He served the office of sheriff, 1627. In 1637 he gave the sum of "Fifty pounds to be put out for the maintenance of the Minister of St. Johns for reading morning prayers there every day, the council took this sum into the chamber of this Cittie paying for the same unto the minister of St. Johns fifteen shillings quarterly."

He died March 5th, 1637, and was buried in his parish church.

"Item Two small Silver bowles given by Mr. Jerveys Smith."

"1624, 20th November. At this house it is agreed that Mr. Gervase Smith the eldest Sonne of the late Lord Byshopp of Glouc^r shalbe a freeman of this Citty." Here again there is no mention of a fine.

The eminent bishop here alluded to was the author of the preface to the Bible of 1610. He died in 1624, his loss being greatly lamented by those who had known and felt his very charitable nature. His body was buried in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral.

"1630, September. Item Two Silver beare bowles given by Mr. James Clente. It is also agreed that Mr. James Clent shalbe admitted into the Freedome of this cittie and also a Burgesse of the same leaving the fine to his own generous disposition."

This worthy died in 1645, and was buried in the Lady Chapel.

1639. WILLIAM CAPLE, Mayor.

"Inventory of goods in the possesion of Mr. Maior.

"Imprimis Three Swords one Beaver hatt and capp of maintenance.

"It^m One silver and gilt great cupp and cover given by Sir Thomas Bell.

"It^m One greate silver and gilt cupp and cover given by Sir William Guise.

"It^m One other greate silver and gilt cupp and cover given by the Lady Porter.

"It^m Thirteene greate silver and gilt Apostles spones given by Ald^rm Baugh.

"It^m One Silver and gilt Bason and Ewer wth a case given by Mr. Ald^rm Thorne.

"It^m Two Silver Flaggons given by John Hanbury Esqr

"It^m Three Silver Canns given by Mr. Keylock.

"It^m Two Silver beare bowles given by Mr. James Clente.

"It^m One Silver and gilt Tankard given by Mr. Huntley.

"It^m One Silver and gilt Salt wth a cover given by Thomas Varnham gente.

"It^m Two small silver bowles given by Mr. Jerveys Smith.

"In the fower Sergents Custody Eight silver maces."

The foregoing list is continued until 1641, when there are four maces.

1642. This year some of the city plate was ordered to be sold.

"October 11th. It is agreed and ordered at this House that two greate guilte bowles wth covers, one guilte Tankard, one Silver cann, one greate Silver beare bowle and one lesser Silver bowle, fower old Maces, and one old Seale of Mayrolty,[1] being plate belonging to the Chamber of the City, shalbe forthwith sould by Mr. Ald^rm Brewster, Mr. Ald^rm Caple, and Mr. Ald^rm Nicholas Webb, or any Two of them, and the Money to be disposed of towards the charge of the fortifications of this City."

Here we find that six articles of silver plate, four maces, and one old seal were sold, according to the above order. Whether the amount realised by the sale of these articles did not equal the expectations, or that more was required, is not recorded, but the following entry occurs:—

"1642–3, Feby 4th. Mr. Ald^rm Brewster, Mr. Ald^rm Singleton, Mr. Ald^rm Pury, Mr. Nelmes, Mr. Anthony Edwards or any two of them, are appointed to take care for the securing

[1] Was this the old seal of mayoralty granted in 1483 by Richard III., which was never accounted for?

and disposing of the rest of the plate, to make up the sume of five hundred pounds, granted to this City, by Ordinance of Parliament, out of the Subscriptions."

The citizens were being sorely tried and pressed for money and other necessaries, to maintain the soldiers and the poor, as well as to provide for the threatened siege. Many were the sacrifices made by the leading men of that critical time: still, there was great need of money, and again the plate was to be sold. It would seem that local purchasers were not in great numbers, and other places should be tried, as the following entry occurs:—

"1643, April 7th. It is also at this house ordered That such Plate as we have here towards the charges of the fortifications of this City shalbe sent to the City of London or Bristol or otherwhere and sold at the best rate as may be to pay the charges of the fortifications."

Still a further consideration was given as to the disposal of the plate, the result being the following minute:—

"1643, May 8th. It is agreed at this house That Mr. Walter Lane and Mr. Henry Ellis, shall receive from the Treasurer of the Subscription accompts, the residue of the Plate allotted toward the charge of the Fortifications of this City being about 1,000 ounces, and to give them a noate of receipt under their hands, and forthwith carry the same to the city of London, and sell the same there at the best rate, and to bring or return hither the moneys wch shalbe thereof made, to be here imployed for the purposes aforesayd, and to have a man to attend upon them in their journeys, and the charges of them and the sayd man to be borne by the Chamber of the City."

Then follows at the same meeting this resolution:—

"It is also agreed, That Mr. Lane and Mr. Ellis in the former act named, shall out of the moneyes and of Sixty ounces of Plate more to be sold by them in London."

Then occurs a lengthy instruction and list of names of persons to whom they are to pay the money in London and

here; but there is not any account that the two previous resolutions concerning selling the plate were ever effected. The following minute would seem to imply not:—

"1643, June 20th. Whereas, Mr. Walter Lane and Mr. Henry Ellis, have given an accompt concerning the Plate, wch they according to a former act of Comon Councell received from the Treasurer of Subscriptions accomptes, It is Ordered at this house, that they shalbe discharged from making any further accompt thereof, in respect that this house doth accept of this accompt."

The next minute would seem to show that the sale of the Plate was not a decisive and accomplished fact:—

"1643, July 21st. At this house it is agreed, That the ffower hundred ounces of Plate, in the receavers hands of the Subscription moneyes for the Prliament, shalbe received by Mr. Anthony Edwards and Mr. Nelmes, from the sayd receaver, and by them sold and imployed to and for the use of fortifications and works now about this City, and that the sayd Receaver shalbe discharged and saved harmless by the Chamber of this City, One hundred ounces thereof being already delivered and also imployed for the same use and purpose."

The foregoing resolutions concerning the sale of the plate, to repair the walls and fortifications of the city during the year 1643, would appear to be rather perplexing. In order to help the understanding in this difficult but interesting episode of the siege, much information may be obtained by comparing the "Inventory" of silver articles, remaining in the mayor's custody during the year 1644, whereby may be seen how much remained, and which of the said articles mentioned in the previous "Inventory" of 1639 are missing:—

"In Mr. Mayors Custody.

"1644. Imprimis, Three Swords, one new capp of maintenance.

"It^m^ One Silver and guilt great cupp and cover, being the guift of Sir Thomas Bell.

"Ittm One guilt Bason and Ewer, being the guift of Aldrm Thorne.

"Ittm One guilt Salt, the guift of Tho: Varnham, gent.

"Ittm Two Silver fflaggons, ye guift of John Hanbury gent.

"Ittm Two great Silver cannes, ye guift of Mr. Richard Keylock.

"Ittm One Silver Bowle of a large size, ye guift of Mr. James Clent.

"Ittm xiij Postles guilt Spoones, ye guift of Mr. Aldrm Baugh.

"Ittm more One little Silver Bowle, ye guift of Mr. Jarvie Smith.

"In the Fower Serieants Custody.

"Fower Silver Maces, each of them one."

Here, then, are the missing articles: Sir William Guise's gift, Lady Porter's gift, Mr. Keylock (1 can only), Mr. Clent (1 Bowle only), Mr. Huntley's gift, Mr. Smith (1 lesser Bowle only), and four of the maces, with one old seal.

These four maces were supposed to have been sold in 1642, at the time of the serious trouble in that year.

The list of goods in Mr. Mayor's custody continued the same until the following gifts were added:—

"1648. Ittm One Silver Bowle, the guifte of Captain Evans.

"Ittm One case of Twelve Knives with Apostles heads, the guifte of Thomas Barrett."

No reason is mentioned why these gifts were made, but the following "item of expenditure" would seem to show that the gift was acceptable, and that the "Knives" in all probability were of local make:—

"Given to Thomas Barrett's men of this City, Cutler, to make them drinke when he presented to Mr. Mayor and the Comon Councell, a case of Twelve Knives, to remayne fro Mayor to Mayor, successively, 2s. 6."

November 6th:—

"It is also agreed that the Two Silver canns, given by

Mr. Keylock, shalbe changed for new canns of the like weight and lesse measure, at the charges of the Chamber of this City."

The chamberlain's accounts show :—

	£	s.	d.
"1649, paid for mending the two flaggons at Mr. Mayor's	0	8	0
P^d for changing Mr. Keylock's two canns	1	10	0
P^d for graving the Arms on them ..	0	2	0
1653, P^d to Godfrey Ellis for the four little pocket Silver Maces, as by his noate and Mr. Viner's letter	8	19	0"

These were the four maces supposed to have been sold in 1642, but evidently not sold, but held as security.

1654. This year the serjeants are each credited with two maces each, one great and one pocket, and this is continued until the year of Toby Jordan's mayoralty.

1659–60. When the serjeants are credited with "four great Silver Maces," the four small ones being acknowledged as sold. Nothing of importance occurs until 1684, when the case of twelve knives with Apostles' heads is missing, and is not again mentioned.

"March 5th. Whether a Letter of thanks shalbe returned to the Lord Chancell^r for his great Honour and Respect to this City, in giving back to this City Threescore pounds due to him for his Salary as Recorder of this City from the time he was first elected into that Office to Michael^ms next to buy a Peece or Peeces of Plate for the Public of the City?" Agreed to by all.

There was a large silver salver purchased of Mr. Lewis :—

"P^d for My Lord High Chancellors peece of Plate being his gifte to the City £63 os. od."

"1713, September 30th. Whether Two little old Silver Tankards the gift of Mr, Richard Keylock shalbe both exchanged for one large Tankard at the cost of this Corporation, And the same Armes and Inscription to be put thereon

as are upon the s[d] Old Tankards and to be of the same weight, or more ?"

This was agreed to by all (31), and an exchange was effected, but not as stated above, there being two instead of "One large."

1747. The Inventory for this year contains the following:—

"In the great Box under the Tolsey Cubboard, and used at the Communion.

"Two Silver Flaggons the gift of John Hanbury Esqr.

"Two Silver Salvers exchanged for the gift of Mr. Jervis Smith.

"Two Silver Bowles enchanged for the gift of Capt[n] Evans.

"One Silver Bowle the gift of Mr. James Clent."

For the accounts for this year there is, "P[t] Mr. Price Goldsmith a noate, £4 6s. 6d." (Query, was this for a chalice ?)

For some years past there had been some unpleasantness between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation respecting the mayor's seat in the choir of the cathedral, which resulted in the old chapel at the Tolsey being fitted and prepared for service therein, this chapel being the place which was used for the Roman Service when James II. paid his visit to Gloucester in 1687.

The Rev. Mr. Thache, M.A., minister of St. Michael's, was engaged for reading "prayers twice and preaching once every Sunday before this House, at a Salary of Thirty Guyneas, besides the State days; the sum of four guyneas being paid to the Clerke for his services."

Herein lies a reason why the "Silver Bowles" were so exchanged for "Salvers," that they might be used as patens at the Communion, the other articles named making the service complete, if the amount as per "noate" was paid for a chalice.

"1756. Paid for Excise Duty for 600 oz[s] of Plate, £1 10s. od.

"1767. One large Silver two handled Cup and cover, the gift of Charles Barrow, Esqr.

"1768. One large Silver Punch Bowle in a Red Leather Case, the gift of George Augustus Selwyn." (Weight 113 oz.)

These donors were the representatives of the city in parliament.

"1790. P^d Mr. Washbourne Silversmith a noate for a Punch Ladle, £2 2s. 0d."

Unfortunately, at this period, the only information obtainable was by "noate," which "noates" are not now in existence.

From this date there is no alteration or addition to the civic plate until the year 1818, when there occurs this minute relating to the plate.

"1818, September 14th. Whether the Old Plate belonging to this Corporation, usually kept by the Mayor for the time being, shall be sold or exchanged by the present Mayor, for such new and other plate as he may best approve? All for it (22)."

The above resolution was carried into effect, whereby the city lost nearly all its very valuable ancient plate, some of which had passed through some of the most pressing trials during the city's history, especially during the troublous seventeenth century. What a loss! How much none can say.

The articles so ruthlessly sold were:—

Sir Thomas Bell, cup and cover date,	1563,	weight	67 oz.
Ald. Thorne, basin and ewer	,, 1617	,,	not known.
Thos. Varnham, silver-gilt salt and cover	,, 1617	,,	35 oz.
John Hanbury, two flaggons ..	,, 1627	,,	not known.
James Clent, one bowl	,, 1648	,,	,, ,,

In return we have now:—

Two dozen table silver spoons date 1818.
Three dozen table forks .. ,, 1818.
Several *silver-plated candelabra* marked RC&Co PATENT

1896. Inventory of silver plate and insignia in the city treasury.

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LOVING CUP.

Thirteen silver spoons, apostles figure with emblem engraved on handles, also on each the words, "The gift of John Baugh Alderman of the City of Gloucester." Date mark "Lion passant, leopard's head crowned."

6 to this maker's mark IW, and 7 to this R, S

Date mark Q Weight of one of these, $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz. (avoirdupois)

One large silver salver, twenty-six inches in diameter, the gift of Lord Somers, upon which is engraved: "Ex dono prehonorabilis Johs Dni Somers Baronis de Evesham Dni Cancellar Angliae and hujus Civitatis Gloucestriae Recordatoris." Date mark 6 (1699). "Britannia and lion's head erased." IS

Elaborate coat of arms in centre (203 oz., 8 dwt.).

Two cups and covers, engraved as "The gift of Mr. Richard Keylocke of the City of Gloucester." — (1713–14) Date letter LO "Britannia and lion's head erased."

1743. Two salvers, one of which is engraved, the other not being so.

"In exchange for a Bowle, the gift of Captain Evans." The other must have been for Mr. Jervase Smith's gift. — (1743) Date letter b HB

1767. A loving cup, with a cover and two handles, engraved as, "EX DONO CAROLI BARROW ARMIGERI ANNO DOMINI. 1767."

Shield with the Barrow arms "3 bears' heads muzzled." Date letter I 1766–7. "Lion passant and leopard's head crowned." LH

1768–9. Large punch bowl. Date letter 1768–9. Weight 113 oz. On one side the city arms in an oval On the other side the "Selwyn arms." This bowl is very handsome; it is 15 in. in diameter and 8 in. high.

Two fish slices engraved Date letter, 1804–5. "Lion passant, leopard's head crowned, head of George III."

One punch ladle, no date mark, George III. shilling in bottom. "Lion passant."

(G.S.)

Two dozen spoons engraved as, "In exchange for the gift of Alderman John Thorne 117." Date mark, 1818. City shield WC

Three dozen forks engraved as, "In exchange for the gift of John Hanbury Esqr. Citizen." Date letter same as above (1818),

Silver oar, carried by the water bailiff as a symbol of office. It is engraved with the letters "S. C." and "W. B." Date letter 1807 (?) Lion passant, King's head and maker's mark M S. It is only $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide.

There is in the council minutes an entry:—

1584. Richard Wilton was "Water Bailiff To gather in and pay to the Sheriff, all fees or cominge by the Seavern, and his yearlie wages was to be xxvj^{s} viij^{d}."

THE MACES.

The four maces now used are silver-gilt, and are those which were altered in 1652, in accordance with the order of Parliament in 1649, concerning the remaking "of all other

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PUNCH BOWL.

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THE MACES.

Great Maces." Although the chamberlain's accounts refer to payments made to Mr. Alderman Vyner, of London, there are evidences that the work was done by someone else, as two of these have a maker's mark of a letter M surmounted by a T. This was the mark of Thomas Maundy, of London, who, according to the order of Parliament of 1649, was to have the making of "all large maces and none other." Two of these are engraved round the foot knobs: "William Singleton Esquire Maior of the City of Gloucester 1652."

When the monarchy was restored in 1660, those corporations who had altered their maces in conformity with the order of Parliament made in 1649 had again to convert them into royal maces. Gloucester was one of these, and in the council minutes of June 13th, 1660, when Toby Jordan was mayor, we find the following entry:—

"It is agreed at this House That the Sword and Maces that are carried before Mr. Maior shalbe altered at the charges of the Chamber And that Mr. Maior doe procure the same to be done to the best advantage of the Chamber."

Two of the maces so altered bear the following inscription round the foot knob: "Toby Jordan, Esqr Maior Anno Regni Regis Car 2 xij Annoq Domi 1660," and are marked with TM

All four maces, however, underwent conversion, for the chamberlain's account for 1659–60 contains a payment "for the 4 new Maces & for altering the Scabbard of the best Sword over and above the summe allowed for the old Maces & Sword as appears by Mr. . . . . Cuthbert's note £74 1s."

To call the maces new was not correct, for although they received new royal crowns, and the royal badges were substituted for the Arms of England and Ireland, in other respects they were substantially the maces which had been made in 1652. (The sum paid to Alderman Vyner, of London, for the alterations in the accompt for the year 1652 was £85 5s.)

BOROUGH ARMS OF NEWTOWN.

The mace of this old borough was also one of the towns, like Gloucester, that had been subjected to these alterations to suit the times.

The plate bearing the arms having become loose, it was found that the royal arms had been "put out" during the Commonwealth by the simple and economical plan of removing the plate and engraving on it the State arms.[1]

THE CITY SWORDS.

King Richard III., by his charter in 1483, granted the right of the Mayor of Gloucester to have a sword carried before him. The sword first used for this purpose is considered by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope to be probably that now known as "The Mourning Sword." He says: "The blade is of Solingen or Passau make, with the wolf mark, and the hilt has curved quillons and a disc-shaped pommel embossed with a rose on each side. The whole is, however, now painted black, which conceals the workmanship. The scabbard is covered with black velvet embroidered with black silk, on one side the city arms, on the other a crowned rose; the central ornaments are floral devices, and the chape has on both sides a floral device with the date 1677, in which year the city swords were repaired at a cost of £1 18s. 6d."

"The next sword that the city possessed cannot now be found, and all trace of it seems to be lost." Rudder, in 1779, in his *History*, describes it as being adorned with the figure of Queen Elizabeth and "E.R., 1574," and the city arms as then borne.[2]

[1] *Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, by the late Llewellyn Jewitt and W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.

[2] The inventory of the goods of the city for 1793 contains: "In the Mayors Custody Three Swords, two Caps of Mayntenance and two Maces."

THE CITY SWORDS.

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There are in the Chamberlain's Accomptes for 1566 these items :—

	lb.	s.	d.
"Also p to Albert Williams for makinge and triminge the newe Swerde	v	iiij	o
Also to Hughe Gye for makinge the Skabborde			xii
Also to William Hollidine for makinge the bace of the Scabbard		x	o
Also to lawrence Hollidine for one ownce three quarters and twoe yarde of goolde to macke the bace		x	viij
Also p^d to him for golde to macke the bace for the blew Scabbard		xij	o"

Queen Elizabeth visited this city in 1574. There was much looking up of the burgesses who had not paid their fines for their burgeships this and the special tax upon the burgesses in the four wards, according to their standing in the city. The several trade companies were also taxed, the sums ranging from "The Tailors, iiij lb." down to "Weavers, xj^s."

The money so collected was expended in "great gifts, and entertayning Her Majesty and Court."

There is a careful and full-sized representation of this sword (1574) carved on the monument of Alderman Jones in the cathedral. He died in 1630.

There are many items of expenditure upon these swords at different dates, but the following are important as showing that just previous to the greater change of 1652 much was done :—

	£.	s.	d.
"1648. P^d Mr. Robert Hill for 24 guilt pieces to newe trime up the swords ..	2	3	0
P^d him for dressing the best Sword and scouring the silver pieces ..	0	10	0
P^d Thomas Phillipps, Cutler, for making of 3 new Scabbards for all the 3 Swords of this Citye at v^s a peece	0	15	0

		£	s.	d.
	P[d] Mr. Thomas Peirce for the triming of all the three Swords of this Citty as p[r] note appears	3	8	9
1652.	Payd to Mr. Alderman Vyner of London for the Swords and Maces. [Principally on the Maces (?)]	85	5	0"

The Sword of State still borne before the Mayor of Gloucester bears a careful representation of a former and original condition of the ancient sword. See this on the "Jones" tomb in the nave of the cathedral. There remains the supposed "Solingen blade," with the "gold inlaid wolf mark" of the maker, and the hilt with its pommel and quillons. The sides of the pommel bear the royal arms of Charles II., and the city arms of 1652. The grip is covered with silver wire, the cross guard is adorned on each side with one large and two small escallop shells, with good pattern enrichments between. The sheath is covered with crimson velvet. The uppermost locket retains on one side the figure of Justice; the other side originally bore an inscription, but this has been erased, and instead of it is engraved a later one: "Gloucester, Toby Jordan Esq[r], Maior Anno Regni Regis Car 2nd XII Annoq Domi 1660."

The second locket has on one side the king, standing erect and in armour and brandishing his sword; the other side has the king riding over his fallen foes.

The third locket has on one side the royal arms and supporters crowned in a circle between an oak tree above and the city arms below, and on the other side a cartouche with the city arms. The chape is wrought with a figure of Fame on one side, and a fully-armed female on the other. The whole ends in a cruciform ornament, instead of a crown. The interspaces are filled with the rose, thistle, harp and fleur-de-lis; each of these are crowned. The sword is 4 ft. 3 in. in length.

DETAILS OF THE STATE SWORD.

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THE ARMS OF THE CITY.

The armorial bearings of the city are composed of the arms of "De Clare," the Earls of Gloucester, and the ten torteaux of the See of Worcester.

King Edward VI., who had made John Hooper Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester in 1550, and to whom he made many gifts and concessions, also granted, by "patent" in December, 1552, "that the said John of Worcester and Gloucester, bishop, and his successors of Worcester and Gloucester bishops from henceforward for ever, have a seal or seals authentic, as bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and of Bath and Wells have or may have." Hence we find that a seal was provided for the new bishopric.

On the monument of John Jones (in the nave of Gloucester Cathedral), who had served the office of Mayor of Gloucester three times, and was Member of Parliament, as well as Registrar to eight succeeding bishops of the diocese, are two oval medallions, the dexter charged with the arms of De Clare, "Or, three chevrons, gules," that on the sinister, "Or, three chevrons, gules, between ten torteaux," the same as the present arms of the city. John Jones died 1st June, 1630.

It is noteworthy that the bishops of Gloucester, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, used the arms of De Clare without the torteaux of Worcester, but in lieu the middle chevron was ensigned with a mitre, as is to be seen on the monument of Bishop Goldsborough, in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral. He died in 1604.

This may be accounted for by the fact that upon the death of Bishop Hooper, after the accession of Queen Mary to the throne, a separation of the dioceses of Worcester and Gloucester took place, and they have been separate ever since. In the Corporation minutes for May 25th, 1647, there is an entry:—

"It is agreed that the New City Armes shalbe delivered up to Garter King of Armes and the old Armes of the city taken forth to be henceforth borne and the chamber to be at the charges of the fees for the same."

Again, in August 5th, 1651, occurs :—

"This house doth agree and order that the Common Seale now used for this Citty shalbe broken and that there shal be a new Common Seale made engraven with the armes aunciently used for this Corporation, viz. with three chevrons and Ten . . . with the inscription of the Common Seale of the Citty of Glouc^r. The use thereof to continue from on and after the nine and Twentieth day of September next and the prsant Seale to be used in the meantime."

It is a singular fact that the words that are interlined above are so done in the original, as also is the omission of the word ". . . (torteaux ?) ;" it is as copied. The words so inserted are of importance, for herein is distinctly stated that the new seal should be engraven with the "armes aunciently used for this Corporation, viz. three chevrons and Ten . . ."

In all probability the writer was not certain of the word ; hence the omission.

In the chamberlain's accounts there is an entry :—

"1652. Paid to Mr. Pury, Junr. for the patent for the City Armes with new Creasts and Supporters £20 0 0
Paid to Mr. Brewster that he layd out for the Creasts and Supporters more £1 0 0"
[This Mr. Brewster was one of the stewards.]

Mr. John Dorney was town clerk of the city at this period, and it is to him that we are indebted for the best account of the siege of the city in 1643. He was also the author of the (now scarce) little book entitled, *Speeches upon the Daies of Elections of Civil Officers in the City of Gloucester, during the late civil war and since*, 1653." The above "Armes, Creasts, and Supporters" were granted and assigned by Sir Edward Bysshe, Garter Principal King at Arms, August 14th, 1652, and the above-named book, "Speeches, &c." was issued to the public in the beginning of the following year, and it contains

as a frontispiece a well-drawn picture of the said arms and supporters, as also the "creasts" and mantlings.

The foregoing items of expenditure concerning the patent for the city arms, with new crests and supporters, are helpful in answering the oft-debated question whether the city has any right to the present crest and supporters. That there was a patent applied for, and successfully so, is manifest by the account of the steward, who paid for the same. The question is, Are there any hopes that this document is yet in existence? If so, what are they? The answers must be left to time and determined energy in searching for it; until it is found we must be content with the knowledge that there are the chamberlain's accounts to show that such a deed was paid for, and that the citizens had a right to, and did use, the arms.

Among the receipts there are:—

		£	s.	d.
"1654.	Recieved for the old Seale being broken and sold for	1	10	4
	Rec^{vd} for the Seal of Mayroltye being broken and sold for	1	9	0"

These old seals were ordered by the "consent of the house to be broken, sold, and melted," and the stewards to "take care thereof and the new comon seale henceforth used as the comon seale of this Citty."

1660. The restoration of King Charles II. to the throne caused a general repainting of the royal arms in place of the State arms throughout the city, and also an alteration of the city seal.

"1661. September 27th. It is agreed at this House That the old City Seale shallbe broken and not be used any more from henceforth. And that the Seale newly made and here produced shall be used for the City Seale, And that the Stewards shall pay to William Costley, goldsmith, five pounds for the sayd Seale."

On comparing this seal with the engraving of the old one, as depicted in Dorney (*Speeches*), the alteration does not

appear to be in the arms at all, as the new shield is charged with exactly the same bearings as the old one of 1652; the difference lies in the shape and design of the shield.

Here is what became of the fine seal of 1652:—

	£	s.	d.
"Rec^vd of Mr. Goffe Goldsmith for the old city Seale beinge 9 oz. less ½ quarter at 4s. 9d. p^r oz.	2	2	1¾"

From this time there has been no material alteration in the seal.

The City Arms may be described as:—

ARMS. On a shield, "Or, between three chevrons, gules, ten torteaux, 3.3.3,1."

SUPPORTERS. On both the dexter and sinister sides a lion rampant, guardant, gules, each holding in his gamb a broad sword erect, both standing upon a scroll, inscribed with this motto: "FIDES INVICTA TRIUMPHAT."

CREST. On an esquire's helmet proper a mural coronet, surmounted by a lion sejant affronté gules, holding in the dexter gamb a broad sword erect, and in the sinister gamb a trowel erect, both proper; the mantlings or and gules.

THE WAITES OF THE CITY.

There were anciently persons appointed who were called "Waites," or "Mussitioners," and these were minstrels or musical watchmen; they seem to have been neglected or overlooked during previous years. At the restoration of Charles II. these important personages were in evidence again, as will be seen by the following extracts:—

"1660. January 17th. It is agreed That the Stewards shall pay the summe of three pounds for their services in this City till the 25th day of December."

"Paid to the Waytes for their wages and Livery being Livery year, £4."

"1670. Decr 7th. It is agreed at this House That John Ludenham shalbe one of the Waytes of this City, And that he shall have a cloake and the same pay as is allowed to each other of the said Waytes And that the said Waytes shall have badges in Silver with the City Arms engraven thereon with the letters C.G."

There appears to have been some delay in procuring these adornments, but a sum of £20 was borrowed towards the cost of them.

1677. The chamberlain's "accompte^s" for this year contain an entry:—

"P^d Mr. Carsley for 5 Silver Badges .. .. £34 2 0"

"1678. In the Chamberlain's custody four silver badges for the City Musicke, and one in Mr. Carsley^s hands."

"1681. March 8. It is ordered, That the Red Coats now in the possession of Mrs. Sussanah Bowers for the Waits of this City be delivered to Mr. Chamberlain, he having the badges allready."

"1682. It is Agreed at this House that five Mussitioners shall have Liveries and three pounds apeice p^r ann^m, to be paid them by the Chamber during the pleasure of this house."

As time rolls on an item for "wear and tear" occurs, as is borne out by the following entries:—

"1698. Charges for the Musitions Cloaks, Badges and Salary^s.

	£	s.	d.
P^d Mr. Lewis for the Silver Badges	5	10	0
,, Mr. Ewins for cloath for cloaks	9	2	0
,, Mr. Maior his note and silk making them ..	1	1	11
,, Mr. Richard Williams his salary by note ..	2	10	0
	£18	3	11

It would be interesting to know what became of these badges.

MAYOR'S CHAIN OF OFFICE.

1870. April 12th. "At a Quarterly Meeting of the Council of the said City holden at the Town Hall on Tuesday the twelfth day of April, One Thousand eight hundred and seventy, W. C. Lucy, Esquire, and Captain De Winton, with Mr. A. C. Wheeler, the Secretary of the Gloucestershire Chamber of Agriculture attended the Council and presented the following address :—

"To Joseph Reynolds, Esqr., Mayor of the City of Gloucester.

"We the undersigned on behalf of the Subscribers whose names are appended, beg to present to the Corporation the accompanying Chain or Collar and Badge or Jewel as the Insignia of Office of the Mayor for the time being.

"We rejoice in offering this tribute of respect during the Mayoralty of one who by his sound judgment has done much to add Dignity to the Office.

"That the Corporation may ever be presided over by successors of judgment and integrity, and that the Civic Body may long exist to promote the prosperity and best interests of the Citizens, and to take its part in advancing the welfare of the Nation, is the hearty desire of the undersigned.

"W. C. LUCY.
THOS. DE WINTON."

Alderman T. Marling headed a list of subscribers with a donation of £50, and in all the sum of £221 10s. was given by sixty-one donors.

After reading the address, Mr. Lucy and Captain De Winton presented the collar and badge or jewel to the council, to be worn by the mayor for the time being, as his insignia of office, and thereupon invested therewith the mayor (Joseph Reynolds, Esquire), who replied in appropriate terms.

The citizens generally were so much interested in this

presentation of a chain and badge as the insignia of office of mayor, and so liberally subscribed to the fund, that designs were sought for, based upon a general plan furnished by Mr. T. Gambier Parry, Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, Sir William Guise, and others. Several designs were sent in by some of the leading goldsmiths of the day, from Birmingham, London, and local tradesmen.

The one submitted by Messrs. P. G. Dodd and Son, London, came most nearly to the suggested ideas, and with some modifications was accepted, and the work was executed in a month.

The collar is of 18-carat gold, and is formed of a hundred horseshoes in double row, which are so interlinked that, though from the front no joints or other fastenings are visible, perfect flexibility is secured. Great brilliancy is also obtained by lapping the heads of nails, which thus show in bright contrast to the rich, dead colour of the shoes. In the centre of the collar the shoes are placed toe to toe, and an ornament of floral design covers the junction, thus bringing the double line of shoes heel to heel to the front centre, to which the badge is attached by two spring loops.

The badge is of bold scroll design and handsome proportions. The gold used is as in the collar (18-carat), but the arms and supporters in 22-carat metal. The lions rampant are out of the solid metal, and though of heraldic character, are natural in appearance. The heraldic colour of the supporters and arms is red, and are enamelled in this colour. On the ornament connecting the badge with the collar is mounted a cap of maintenance in coloured enamel, and with it the old motto of the city: "FIDES INVICTA TRIUMPHAT." The badge with its ornamental loop is so arranged that for semi-State occasions it may be worn without the collar, simply suspended by a ribbon.

The general appearance of this work of the goldsmith's craft is very beautiful, and adds dignity to the office of mayor of this city.

SHERIFF'S CHAIN OF OFFICE.

1883. This chain was subscribed for by the brethren of the Masonic Craft, on the appointment of Mr. Henry Jeffs as Sheriff of Gloucester. It is a fine specimen of the goldsmith's work, of high artistic merit and special design. The chain is made up of alternate links of the garter and shield, with mural crowns at the top and blocks containing the emblems of the sheriff's office in front, comprising the sword and fasces, with axe and mace. These are linked up with the national emblems of the rose, shamrock and thistle, joined together. The central link is a larger garter and shield surrounded with the royal crown, and bearing on the centre of the shield the monogram of "H. J." in purple enamel and "ROYAL CITY OF GLOUCESTER" in the garter in blue enamel. On each side of this are the coats of arms of the See of Gloucester and of the old city of Gloucester, the former having in the centre the episcopal keys and the latter the old city castle. (The design of this chain and badge was by Mr. Lashmore, of Gloucester.) The badge, suspended from the chain, consists of the city arms in repoussé work, comprising a wreath of oak and laurel surrounding a garter and the two rampant lions, with the Royal crown in red enamel at the top, and a ribbon bearing in purple enamel "CAERGLOW," the ancient name of Gloucester; and on another ribbon the city motto: "FIDES INVICTA TRIUMPHAT," also in purple enamel. The sword and axes are in the rare metal platinum, or white gold, and the whole of the other portions of the chain are made of 18-carat gold, hall-marked. The chain is made to be suspended from the shoulders by small rosettes of dark blue silk, faced with the letter "G" worked in gold thread.

At the back of the city arms the following inscription is engraved:—

"This Gold Chain and Badge were presented to brother Henry Jeffs, P.P.G.J.W. Gloucestershire, by Members of the Masonic Craft, on his appointment as Sheriff of Gloucester, his native city. Anno Domini, 1883."

On November 9th, 1883, at the election of the new sheriff for the forthcoming year, the mayor (Mr. H. H. Fryer) read the following letter from Mr. H. Jeffs, the retiring high sheriff :—

"1 Sherborne Villa, Spa, Gloucester,
"*November 9th*, 1883.

"To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, the Worshipful the Aldermen, and the Town Council of the City of Gloucester.

"GENTLEMEN,—It is in your remembrance that after my appointment as Sheriff of this City, some of my Brother Freemasons, as an expression of their esteem and regard, presented me with a gold chain and badge of office. On the expiration of my year of office, it is a pleasure to me to offer to you, for the acceptance of the city, the said gold chain and badge. The badge bears the following inscription :—

"'This gold chain and badge were presented to Brother Henry Jeffs, Past Master, Past Provincial Grand Junior Warden, Gloucestershire, by Members of the Masonic Craft, on his appointment as Sheriff of Gloucester, his native city. Anno Domini, 1883.'

"The shield above the badge is now supplemented by the following :—

"'Presented by Henry Jeffs, City Sheriff, to the Corporation of Gloucester, in trust for future Sheriffs to wear. November 9th, 1883.'

"Your official recognition of the gift under the seal of the Corporation will be a keepsake for my family. Thanking most sincerely the members of the Corporation for the courtesy and kindness extended to me during my year of office, and wishing every prosperity to the city,

"I beg to remain, Gentlemen,
"Your faithful servant,
"HENRY JEFFS."

SILVER ENAMEL PLAQUES.

My first acquaintance with the three "Silver Enamel" Plaques, one of which is dated 1563, was at a sale by auction at the Bell Hotel a great number of years ago. I was looking at them in an inquiring way, when a local gentleman asked me not to oppose him, as he wished to buy them for the (then county) museum. I agreed, feeling that such rare articles of the history of the city ought not to be sold away from their home. I never saw them at the museum.

Some years after I heard that they were offered for sale in one of the London auction rooms, and that the late Judge J. J. Powell had purchased them for the sum of thirteen guineas, at which I was delighted, thinking that once again they might be returned to the old city.

I saw them again at a meeting of the Literary Society in Gloucester in 1876, when they had been mounted in card by our old citizen John Bellows, who had printed in his own fine manner a clear and full heraldic description of them, written by another local worthy, the late J. D. Thomas Niblett, F.S.A.

Judge Powell took great care of them at Denmark Hill. After his death I found from the account of his will that these plaques had not been intended for Gloucester. This made me anxious to know what would become of them, and so I took means to find out, and soon I learned that they were again to be sold in a London auction room. On the morning of sale I wended my steps thither, and soon had them in view; the same evening I brought them back to the old city. I had done this journey very quietly, as I thought, but when I arrived at Gloucester Station I bought a *Citizen*, and nearly the first item I read was the information that Mr. C. H. Dancey had added to his collection these plaques, &c., &c. Our old and able citizen, the late Mr. George Armstrong Houitt, at my request, made an oak frame to put these exceedingly rare items of local interest in, and also carved in boxwood a correct copy of the original illustration of the city arms as granted in 1652, with the crest

SILVER ENAMEL PLAQUES.

and supporters. This was from John Dorney's own copy of *The Speeches, &c.*, which copy of the book is still in existence.

THREE PLAQUES OF SILVER ENAMELLED CONNECTED WITH THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

No. 1. Diameter 18 lines.

The arms of Sir Thomas Bell, knight: "Argent, on a chevron between three hawks' bells gules, two bars gemel of the first, on a chief of the second a hawk's lure between two martlets of the field." Above the shield the date 1563. Outside in a circle: "✠ THOMAS ✠ BEL ✠ MILES ✠ DEDIT ✠ CIVITATI ✠ GLOC."

N.B.—This and the ground outside the shield is parcel gilt.

Sir Thomas was a rich, successful merchant of this city, of which he was thrice mayor, and thrice for the same Member of Parliament. He was buried in St. Mary de Crypt Church, A.D. 1566, at the ripe age of 80.

No. 2. Diameter 13 lines.

Arms of the city of Gloucester, as granted by Christopher Barker in 1538.

The plaques were probably parts of maces broken up during some civil disturbance Being portable portions, they were rescued from the melting-pot as good luck would have it; and they are now again prevented from leaving the city by a citizen,[1] who has lent them to this museum.

J. D. T. N. 1876.[2]

No. 3. Diameter 22 lines.

"Gules, on a chevron argent three escallops sable, between as many roses of the second, all within a bordure engrailed ermine."

[. . . mayor] impaling the arms of Gloucester as above [1538].

[1] John Joseph Powell, Q.C.

[2] J. D. T. Niblett, Esq., F.S.A., Haresfield Court.

These arms are identical with those on an Elizabethan monument, Haresfield Church, barring the bordure.

N.B.—The two plaques [No. 2 and No. 3) are coeval, the thickness of the silver is the same, and the centre point is distinct.

The above descriptions are copied from the mounting of these plaques by J. Bellows, when they were exhibited at a temporary museum held in the city in 1876.

The following account of the heraldry of the plaques was kindly drawn up by Mr. F. Were :—

The (I imagine) wood-carved achievement above is blazoned.

"Or three chevrons gules between ten torteaux, 3.3.3.1," arms of the city of Gloucester. Crest: On esquire's helmet (? on wreath) on a mural coronet a lion sejant affronté gules, holding in dexter paw a sword erect and in the sinister a trowel both proper. Supporters: Two lions rampant guardant gules, each holding between the gambs a sword proper. Motto: "Fides invicta triumphat," and above: "Insignia Civitatis Glovcestriæ."

Top plaque below, same as enamelled roundel.

Although this is enamelled, you give no account of its tinctures or to what family it belongs, therefore my blazon must be negative or rather in the form of a query. "(? Tincture) on a chev. between three roses (? metal argent) seeded and (? barbed or) as many eschallops (? sable. Tincture) within bordure engrailed ermine." The nearest family coat that I can find to this is Templeman, co. Dorset: "Az. on a chev. or betw. three roses arg. as many escallops sa.," but Fosbrooke gives no such name amongst the mayors or aldermen about 1563. There is a mayor, &c., Semys by name, whose arms, if he bore any, I cannot find. Impaling. The blazon of this is given in *Gloucester Visitation*, 1682–3, p. 213, and it was granted to Sir Thomas Bell in the time of Henry VIII.: "Vert on a pale (given as 'or' in Davies' *Public Arms*, but false both in Edmondson and Papworth as 'gules'), between two horseshoes (nailed for five), each inter two nails in chief

and one in base points to the shoe argent, a sword in scabbard erect azure; hilt, gules, pomel and studding of scabbard or; on the top of the scabbard a cap of maintenance of the fourth turned up ermine (for the sake of clearness of reading I separate the field from the chief); on a chief per pale gules and purpure a boar's head couped close between two demi per pale roses, en soleil argent rayonnant or, issuing from sides," GLOUCESTER CITY. [There is another reading of the blazon of the chief from which the enamelled roundel seems to be copied: "On a chief per pale or and purpure a boar's head couped close, argent between two demi roses, the dexter of the second, the sinister of the third, each issuing rays from the centre pointing to the boar's head of the first;" but then the boar's head would have to be counterchanged and the demi roses partially so.] At any rate, the whole is weak heraldry, and it is pleasant to know that it is very little used, the old coat being good enough for anybody; besides, it is monstrous heraldry for a man to impale a city coat. He cannot possibly marry a city, and if such a thing was possible, it would be after the manner of a bishop, whose arms are dexter "The See," and his own arms the sinister, showing that he is married to his See. Also I should think the herald miscalculated the number of nails in the horseshoe, seeing it is pierced for five, so that the charges ought to have been three nails in chief and two in base. The second plaque is the same as the enamelled roundel, 1563, viz., Sir Thomas Bell, knt., his coat: "Argent on a chevron between three hawks' bells gules two bars gemel of the first, on a chief of the second a hawk's lure inter two martlets (Bigland says hawk's) of the field."

The following minute of the Council of the City of Gloucester will show the manner in which these most interesting relics of antiquity passed into the possession of the city, in whose care it is hoped they will long remain:—

City of Gloucester.

AT A MEETING of the ESTATES and GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE, held at the Guildhall, on Friday, the 16th February, 1906,

PRESENT: The Mayor in the Chair,

GIFT OF MR. C. H. DANCEY.

The Mayor reported that Mr. C. H. Dancey had very kindly presented to the Corporation, to be preserved for the City, three beautiful enamelled silver roundels, probably parts of former maces or other insignia of the City, and bearing the following devices:—

(1) The Arms of the City, as granted in 1538;

(2) The same Arms, combined with other Arms;

(3) The Arms of Sir Thomas Bell, who was thrice Mayor and thrice Member of Parliament for the City, with the date 1563, and inscribed + Thomas + Bell + Miles + Dedit + Civitati + Glouc +

the said roundels being framed with a representation of the present Arms of the City as depicted on the frontispiece of Dorney's Speeches, the same having been carved by the late Mr. J. A. Howitt.

RESOLVED:—

That the Council be recommended to accept the gift, with best thanks to Mr. Dancey for restoring to the City such interesting relics of old Gloucester, and to direct that the same be carefully preserved in some suitable position in the Guildhall.

The foregoing Minute of the Estates and General Purposes Committee was approved, adopted and confirmed, at a Meeting of the Council, held on the 28th day of February, 1906.

Extracted from the Minutes.

GEO. SHEFFIELD BLAKEWAY,
Town Clerk.

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THE CITY ARMS WITH NEW CRESTS AND SUPPORTERS.

As granted and assigned by

Sir Edward Bysshe, Garter Principal King at Arms,

August 14th, 1652.

Inserted by the order of the Council of the Society.

MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

By IDA M. ROPER.

RURAL DEANERY OF HAWKESBURY.

ALDERLEY CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Kenelm.

The figure of a priest down to the waist was over the chancel door, with a scroll and the date 1458.[1] The figure of a bishop and a small effigy are, in addition, mentioned as being in the south wall of the church.[2] There are no traces of either of these three figures to be found. The church was rebuilt about 1802.

BADMINTON CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels.

HENRY, 1ST DUKE OF BEAUFORT, A.D. 1699.

1. Civilian. Knight of the Garter.
2. Half recumbent figure, reclining on the left elbow.
3. White marble, the sarcophagus of granite.
4. Life-size.
5. The duke is robed in the full insignia and habit of the Order of the Garter.

He wears a loose shirt, with full sleeves gathered into a narrow band at the wrist, and edged with wide lace falling over the hands; over it a coat to the knees, open wide and girdled by a broad belt buckled in front; short trunk

[1] Illustrated in Lyson, *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, Plate III.

[2] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, 1789, p. 219.

hose, decorated with loops of ribbon; tight stockings reaching half-way up the thighs, with chevron clocks at the ankles; and square-toed shoes with high tongues, fastened with jewelled buckles. Round the neck is a cravat entirely of lace. In addition, he wears the garter beneath the knee of the left leg—a plain band with edging, and its motto "Honi soit qui mal y pense"—the mantle reaching to the feet, fastened at the throat with cords and large tassels, held together lower down by a slide, and having embroidered on the left shoulder the badge—the Cross of St. George, encircled by the buckled garter and its motto—and the collar, representing buckled garters, alternately enclosing a red rose charged with a white rose and a white rose charged with a red one, the garters being connected by knots of gold. Attached to the centre buckle is the pendant, the figure of St. George on horseback transfixing the dragon. The collar is fastened on the left shoulder by a bow of wide ribbon. The duke wears a long curled periwig, and his right hand is on the thigh, and his left on the cushion.

6. The left arm rests on a large square tasselled cushion, edged with a handsome border of scrollwork.

7. The feet are on the slab only.

8. A magnificently sculptured monument, standing about 25 feet high and 8 feet long. It consists of a high base on which is raised a sarcophagus with the effigy reclining on it, and on either side two beautifully sculptured columns with Corinthian capitals, supporting a straight cornice, bearing in the centre an escutcheon between two large urns wreathed with flowers. Above the escutcheon held up by cherub heads is a large tasselled cushion, bearing a coronet.

In front of the pillars are life-size figures of Justice, holding the scales and a naked sword, and Truth, holding a mirror and an asp.

At the back, between them, curtains are drawn aside to show a representation of clouds with cherub heads and two cherubs, one holding a coronet, the other a palm leaf. On

the base is a long inscription, and above it a figure of St. George and the Dragon in relief.

The arms, with ducal coronet and no tinctures, are :—

"France and England quarterly within a bordure compony (argent and azure)," BEAUFORT.

Supporters : dexter, "A panther argent semée of torteaux, hurts and pomeis alternately, flames issuing from mouth and ears (ppr) collared and chained (or); sinister, a wyvern wings addorsed (vert), holding in mouth a sinister hand couped (gules)."

9. Latin inscription on front of tomb :—

Sub hoc Marmore conquiescit,
Annorum et Titulorum Satur,
Henricus Somerset
Dux de Beaufort,
Marchio et comes de Vigornia,
Baro Herbert de Chepstow, Raglan et Gower,
E Nobilissimo Ordine Periscelidis
Eques.
Excellenti Animo ac Virtute Vir.
Qui singularis Prudentiæ laudem
Cum insigni Iustitie Gloria conjunxit ;
Et illustrissimæ suæ Familiæ
Non modo Fortunas, a Perduellibus eversas,
In integrum restituit,
Sed et Antiquos Honores
Fæliciter Ampliavit.
Neque tamen Rei Privatæ studio intentus
Defuit Publicæ:
Erat enim idem,
Regnante Carolo et Jacobo II^do
Concilii in Principatu Wallensi Præses ;
Comitatuum, Civitatumque
Gloucestriæ, Herefordiæ, Bristolii, Monumethiæ
Nec non totius Walliæ,
Proefectus.

Arcis S^ti de Briavel Castellanus
Et saltus de Deane Custos Principalis:
Civitatum insuper Gloucestriæ, et Herefordiæ
Municipiorumq Malmsburii, Teuxburii,
et Andoveri
Senechallus:
Quin et Utrique Carolidum,
Quibus intemerata semper Fide adhæsit
A camera et a Conciliis Sanctioribus
Coniugem
Unicam, atq unice dilectam habuit
Mariam
Honoratissimi Arthuri Domini Capel
Filiam natu maximam,
Ex quâ Progeniem satis numerosam suscepit:

V. Filios:
- Henricum, Dominum Herbert, hic juxta sepultum
- Carolum, de Vigornia Marchionem
- Henricum et Edwardum, præmatura morte abreptos
- Arthurum, Dominum Somerset

IV. Filias:
- Elizabetham, tenera ætali mortuam
- Mariam, Ormondiæ Ducissam
- Henriettam, Dominam de OBrien
- Annam, Coventriæ Comitissam

H. M.
Charissimo viro dominoque
posuit
Superstes et Mævens Ducissa
Cui, post annos XLIII suaviter in conjugio actos
Triste sui Desiderum reliquit
Senex Septuagenarius
Jan XXI A.D. M D C X C I X.

HENRY, 1ST DUKE OF BEAUFORT, died January 21st, 1699, aged 70.

10. There is no painting.

11. The sword-blade of the figure of Justice is broken away, and replaced by one of stone.

12. Placed against the north wall of the chancel, which was built to receive it.

On the west side of the tomb is the following inscription :—

"This monument which originally stood in the Beaufort Chapel at Windsor was removed from thence and re-erected here in 1875 by Henry Charles Fitzroy 8th Duke of Beaufort K.G., thus completing the Memorials in this Church to the Several Dukes of his Family."

13. No illustration is known.

14. It is in excellent condition.

15. Henry, third Marquis of Worcester, born in 1629, was the son of Edward, second Marquis, by his first wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Dormer, Knight. He was created first Duke of Beaufort in 1682, but refusing to subscribe the oaths of allegiance to William III., he lived in retirement after the accession of that monarch. He was married in 1657 to Mary, daughter of Arthur Lord Capel and widow of Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, and had by her five sons and four daughters. The Duke died in 1699, and was succeeded by his grandson Henry.[1]

HENRY, 2ND DUKE OF BEAUFORT, A.D. 1714.
WIFE AND SON.

1. Two civilians and lady.

2. Half recumbent figure, standing figure, and bust of lady in bas-relief on a medallion.

3. White marble, the sarcophagus of black marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The reclining figure of the second Duke is in Roman

[1] Burke, *Peerage*, p. 138.

dress, being clothed in a draped and girdled cloak, tight stockings and high boots. The latter are turned over at the top, wrinkled and cut open in the fashion of sandals. He is clean shaven with short curly hair, the features no doubt being a portrait.

The right hand is stretched forward, and the left supports an upright medallion in profile of his second wife.

She wears the hair drawn back into a coil with strings of pearls entwined, and drapery round the bust, fastened on the right shoulder by a round brooch. The eyes are open.

The son, the third Duke, stands at his father's feet, dressed in a heavy cloak over a short and scanty undergarment, belted with a girdle, ornamented with lion heads, supporting a sword, the scabbard hidden behind the figure. The legs are in tight stockings and the feet in high boots, cut sandalwise and turned over, with a lion's head for ornament.

He is clean shaven with short curly hair. The left hand holds the cloak over the breast, and the right gathers it up at the side.

7. The second Duke rests his left elbow on a deep tasselled cushion.

8. The monument was executed by Rysbrach; it is a ponderous piece of work, and consists of a recessed base with a large black sarcophagus on white carved feet, and a lofty background of blue slate, cone shaped, and bearing two sculptured cherubs, holding up a cushion with a coronet on it, draped with a scroll and the motto, "Mutare vel timere sperno."

The figures are grouped on the top of the sarcophagus, and there hangs down over it a large pall, magnificently embroidered all over, and edged with deep fringe.

The front of the base bears an inscription and two shields with arms.

Dexter shield:

"France and England quarterly within a bordure compony argent and azure," BEAUFORT.

Sinister :

"In Garter BEAUFORT impaling Or fretty gules a canton ermine," NOEL.

Above both shields are ducal coronets of white marble.

9. Inscription :—

Sacred to the Memory
of the High Puissant and most noble Prince
Henry Somerset
Second Duke of Beaufort
Marquis and Earl of Worcester,
Earl of Glamorgan
Baron Herbert Lord of Ragland
Chepstow and Gower
Baron Beaufort of Caldecot Castle
Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of
Southampton and Gloucester
And City of Bristol
And Custos Rotulorum
And Lord Warden of New Forest,
Captain of her Majesty's Honourable Band
of Gentlemen Pensioners,
And one of the Lords of her Majesty's
Most Honourable Privy Council
And Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter
Who died the 24th day of May 1714
In the 30th year of his age.
And
of Lady Rachel Noel his second Wife
Second daughter and Co-heir to
Wriothesley–Baptist Noel
Earl of Gainsborough
She died the 13th Day of Sept. 1709
And also
Of Henry Somerset
Their eldest Son
Third Duke of Beaufort &c.

Who dying without Issue
The 24th Day of Feb. 1745-6
In the 37th year of his Age
Was succeeded in Honours and Estate
By his only Brother
Lord Charles Noel Somerset
Fourth Duke of Beaufort

HENRY, 2ND DUKE OF BEAUFORT, died May 24th, 1714, aged 29.

LADY RACHEL, his second wife, died Sept. 13th, 1709.

HENRY, 3RD DUKE OF BEAUFORT, died Feb. 24th, 1745, aged 36.

10. The shields only are coloured.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed in a recess against the east wall of the north aisle.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 121.

14. It is in excellent condition.

15. Henry, second Duke of Beaufort, born in 1684, succeeded his grandfather.

He was thrice married: firstly in 1702 to Mary, the only daughter of Charles Sachville, Earl of Dorset; secondly in 1706 to Rachel, second daughter and co-heiress of Wriothesley-Baptist Noel, by whom he had two sons; and thirdly in 1711 to Mary, youngest daughter of Peregrine Osborne, Duke of Leeds, who afterwards married John, fourth Earl of Dundonald.

Henry, third Duke of Beaufort, was born in 1707, and succeeded his father in 1714. At the age of 22 he married Frances, only child and heiress of Sir James Scudamore, of Holme Lacy, co. Hereford, from whom he was divorced in 1744. Dying without issue in 1745, the honours devolved upon his brother, Charles Noel.[1]

[1] Burke, *Peerage*, p. 138.

CHARLES, 4TH DUKE OF BEAUFORT, A.D. 1756.

1. Civilian.
2. Standing figure.
3 White marble.
4. Life-size.
5. The Duke is represented in a loose flowing toga over a close-fitting undergarment, tight stockings, and sandal-like boots with turned-down tops and oval decorations. He is clean shaven with short curly hair. He stands with the right foot forward, in the act of delivering a speech ; the left hand is stretched out, whilst the right drapes the cloak around him.

8. This monument is also the work of Rysbrach, and is a stately work with a plain inscribed base, on which stands the figure against a background of slate-coloured marble, cone shaped, and having at its top a shield of arms surrounded by the motto, "Mutare vel timere sperno." On the right of the figure is seated a cherub on a deep and tasselled cushion holding a ducal coronet.

The arms are :—

"France and England quarterly within a bordure compony argent and azure," BEAUFORT.

Impaling "Gules a chevron ermine between ten crosses pattée argent, 3.2.1.2.1," BERKELEY OF STOKE GIFFORD.

9. Inscription on base, composed by Dr. King, Head of St. Mary Hall, Oxford :—

H. S. L.
Princeps illustrissimus
Carolus Noel Somerset
Dux de Beaufort :
Qui ex vetere prosapia regum Anglorum oriundus
Splendorem generis virtutibus suis superavit,
Ipse nominibus titulisque omnibus major
Patriæ suit amantissimus,
Veræ religionis cultor assiduus
Libertatis publicæ vindex indefessus,

Et, nisi procerum invidia, aut temporum iniquitas
Tantum virum a reipublicæ muneribus exclusisset,
Britanniæ nostræ caput et lumen futurum.
Dum vero boni omnes
Principem hunc excellentissimum
Regni negotiis præesse frustra optant,
Eum maxime sunt admirati,
Et observantia summa coluerunt
Privatum :
Quippe cujus otium
Omni imperio aut regum favore fuit honoratius
Nam domestica munia,
Ac cuncta honestissimæ vitæ officia,
Diligentissime servavit,
Maritus fidelissimus,
Pater optimus,
Amicus certus et constans
Hospes munificus et jucundus,
Academiæ suæ Oxoniensis præsidium
Et eruditorum omnium patronus
Ipse eruditissimus
Inimicum habuit neminem
Nisi qui patriæ at reipublicæ fuit inimicus
Etenim is illi erat vultus decor, is animi candor,
Et in laudabili severitate tam come ingenium,
Ut hominibus demerendis natus videretur
Uxorem duxit
Elizabetham, filiam Johannis Berkeley de
Stoke-Gifford in agro Glocestriensi Armigeri.
Fœminam primariam, ac tali viro dignissimam
Ex qua suscepit filias quinque, et unicum filium
Summæ spei puerum optimæque indolis ;
Quem incolumem servet Deus,
Ut nobilissimam domum,
Principis hujus illustrissimi
Immatura morte labefactatam

Avitis virtutibus restituat, sustineat, et exornet
Filius patri quam simillimus!

Anna, filia natu maxima, quæ nupta fuit Carolo
Compton Comiti de Northampton ob 18 Maii 1763
Elizabetha, secunda, innupta ob 7 Maii 1760
Rachael, tertia, infans ob 3 Maii 1747
Henrietta, quarta D^no Watkin Williams Wynne Baronetto nupta ob (sine Prole) 24 Julii 1769
Maria Isabella, ultima, Carolo Manners Duci de Rutland nupta.
Henricus, unicus filius.

CHARLES, 4TH DUKE OF BEAUFORT, died October 28th, 1756, aged 47.

10. The shield only is painted.

11. There are no mutilations, but the tinctures are wearing off.

12. Placed in a recess against the east wall of the south aisle.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 121.

14. It is in excellent condition.

15. Charles Noel, fourth Duke of Beaufort, born in 1709, succeeded his brother in 1745. Five years previously he had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Berkeley of Stoke Gifford, co. Gloucester, and sister of Norborne, Lord Bottetourt, whose barony her Grace inherited.

He died in 1756, and left one son—Henry, his heir—and five daughters.[1]

CROMHALL CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Andrew.

The effigy seen by Rudder in this church has not been re-discovered. All that is known about it are the following statements:—

"In south aisle is an antient stone monument, consisting

[1] Burke, *Peerage*, p. 138.

of the figure lying cross-legged, intended, as supposed, for one of the Ligons. But it was lately built in the south wall to save the parish three pence in materials for the repair."[1]

"Under an Arcade is the Figure of a Croisader of that family (Lygon), now entirely concealed by the Pews which were erected in 1765."[2]

OLD SODBURY CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

A KNIGHT, ABOUT A.D. 1240.

1. Military. Knight in armour, cross-legged above the knee.

2. Recumbent effigy in high relief.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The knight is enveloped in a suit of chain mail. A hauberk reaches to the middle of the thighs, with long sleeves covering the hands and divided at the fingers. Underneath, on the thigh, is shown the lower edge of the gambeson. The coif de mailles is not continuous with the hauberk, but is in the form of a circular cap, laced to it above the ears, although the method is not shown because now all details of the mail on the coif are removed by scraping. Chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, with straps buckled on the instep and passing under the foot, to which were attached prick spurs (broken off). Over all is worn a flowing surcoat reaching to the feet behind, and cut open in front. There is a large plain kite shield (21 by 27 inches) placed horizontally, completely covering the arms and centre of the body. This is an unusual position, and in consequence none of the details of the belt and sword fastenings can be seen. The end of a large sword is shown aslant on the left side, and must be held in this position by the left hand, which would also support the

[1] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 397.
[2] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 435.

shield as there is no guige. The fingers of the right hand are laid flat on the breast.

6. The head rests on a square pillow set diagonally.

7. The feet, turned inwards in an awkward manner, rest on a small piece of stone sculptured like a leaf.

8. The effigy is built into the full depth of a plain arched recess with bosses of foliage, similar to another recess adjoining.

There is nothing to indicate when it was placed there. In Lyson's *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities* the stone on which the figure is carved is shown to be in the shape of a coffin slab with the upper corner broken off; but at the present time these details do not appear, and the stone is rectangular and about 9 inches deep, with a small bevelled edge.

9. There is no inscription.

A KNIGHT, about 1240.

The date can be fixed with some exactness, partly by the costume, and partly by comparison with another effigy. In the church at Bitton, co. Gloucester, situated a few miles away, is preserved a coffin slab with the head and shoulders of a knight in low relief, and the rest of the figure incised. This is thought to be the coffin lid of Robert de Bitton, or Button, who died about 1225, and on account of its similarity to the present figure they are almost without doubt from the same workshop, and by the same sculptor. The shield is in the same unusual position, the left arm is hidden beneath it, and the feet are in a like awkward attitude. The present figure, however, is carved in higher relief, and the right hand is shown more naturally, the result of improved workmanship.

10. The rings of mail are carved on the stone, but have been entirely scraped away from the coif de mailles and the feet. On the shoulders there is not so much detail shown, as the rings are marked by the ridges only without the curves between.

11. The features are destroyed, and at some restoration the hauberk has been cut away to show the figure with an unprotected chin. At the same time every detail of the armour was worked over afresh, and now the effigy appears almost like one newly carved. This was probably done at the restoration of the church about 1866.

12. Placed in the eastern recess of the north wall of the north transept.

13. Illustrated as a coffin slab in Lyson, *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, plate cvii.

14. The general condition is good since its restoration.

A KNIGHT, ABOUT A.D. 1270.

1. Military. Knight in armour, cross-legged above the knee.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Wood (oak).

4. Life-size, 5 ft. 7 in. long.

5. There are only two wooden effigies in the county, the second one being in the cathedral at Gloucester. The carved details of this figure show that it was represented in a suit of chain mail. A hauberk reaches to the middle of the thighs, with long sleeves covering the hands. On the head is a coif de mailles with skull cap beneath, without the supporting strap round the forehead being shown. The chausses cover the legs and feet, and there are no spur straps. Over all is worn a loose flowing surcoat reaching just below the knees, cut open to the waist and girdled by a very narrow cingulum. Below, passing across the hips, is a broad sword-belt (no buckle visible), to which is attached a cross-hilted sword, the end of the belt appearing to pass completely round the scabbard with the tag end passed through the lower loop. Borne upright on the left arm is a kite shield, fastened to a narrow guige passing over the right shoulder. The left hand holds the scabbard, and the right (mutilated) probably rested on the pommel.

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IN TORTWORTH CHURCH.

6. The head rests on two square pillows, the top one, small and tasselled, being set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on a small lion facing the knight.

8. The effigy and its slab are carved out of one piece of oak, and the body made hollow to prevent splitting. It is placed within a plain arched recess, with bosses of foliage similar to another recess adjoining.

9. There is no inscription.

A KNIGHT, about 1270.

10. The figure is now painted a deep chocolate colour. Originally it would have been decorated. After the details of the carving were finished, a thin coating of gesso was spread all over the wood, and made thicker where the chain mail appeared, the rings of the latter being stamped with metal dies. The surface was then painted with "tempera," the mail covered with gold and silver leaf, and finally the whole figure protected by a coat of varnish.[1]

11. The whole surface is exceedingly worn and rugged, and the details of the costume are difficult to trace. The right arm and hand are nearly worn away, also the features and a portion of the slab near the head.

12. Placed in the western recess of the north wall of the north transept.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigy is well cared for in its battered condition.

TORTWORTH CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Leonard.

SIR THOMAS THROKMORTON, A.D. 1607.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Alabaster with columns of black marble.
4. Life-size.

[1] Hartshorne, "Monumental Effigies," in *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*, 1902, p. 401.

5. The knight is encased in a complete suit of armour decorated throughout in an Italian style. He wears a breastplate with tapul, strapped to a backplate, the shoulders being protected by large pauldrons buckled on the top to epaulières of three plates. On the arms are hinged brassarts, vambraces and small tight-fitting coudes. To the breastplate are fastened by six buckled straps two rounded tassets of almayne rivets worn over full breeches. The legs are in laminated half-cuisses strapped across plain trunk hose, rounded genouillères and hinged jambes, meeting laminated square-toed solerets, with rowel spurs fastened to the heels. Round the throat is a large gorget turned outwards with a narrow collar falling over it; and at the wrists narrow muslin cuffs. At the edges of the armour is shown the escalloped lining of leather, and the whole is profusely engraved, which gives a very handsome effect. A narrow ornamental belt is buckled round the waist, and hooked to it on the left side are the decorated hangers of twelve narrow straps, kept in place by a narrow diagonal sling hooked on the right. Fastened to the hangers is a long sword in a plain scabbard, with rounded guard. The hair is long and curly, the beard square, and the moustache long and drooping. The hands, uncovered, are raised in prayer.

6. The figure lies on a platted mattress rolled up at the head and feet—a clumsy fashion then lately introduced from the Low Countries—whilst the head and shoulders rest on a large square cushion, decorated with a wide band of scroll-work and tassels.

7. The feet rest on the crest, "A falcon volant sable (should be argent) beaked, legged and belled or."

8. The monument is a typical example of the improved artistic designing arising from the closer study of Italian productions. It is made up of three tiers with the effigy on a high table-tomb, within a shallow recess formed by two Corinthian pillars of black marble and a straight cornice. On the latter is an archway, with two pairs of slender pillars flanked by tall pyramids, and holding the escutcheon and

crest. Above are two smaller pyramids with an embossed square to support the crest only. Right and left on the cornice are small shields with arms. At the back of the recess is an inscription on an oblong tablet within a fanciful frame of scrollwork, held up by figures of Youth with lighted torch, and Old Age as Father Time.

Around are festoons of fruit and two groups emblematic of Vigour in war and civil life, represented by helmet and sword on the left, and axe, spade, glove and trumpet on the right.

The front of the tomb is sarcophagus-shaped, standing on a plain panelled base of freestone.

The heraldry has been recently repainted. The charges are in good condition, but the tinctures appear to be fanciful. In the following description those now present are stated, and for the sake of identification the corresponding tinctures as given by Bigland are inserted in brackets. The latter are compiled from Francis Were "Index to Heraldry in Bigland," *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii., part ii.

On escutcheon. Quarterly of 12:

(1) "Gules on a chevron sable (argent) three bars gemelles argent (sable)," THROKMORTON.

(2) "Sable (argent) a cross argent (sable) charged in the centre with a leopard's face or," BRIDGES.

(3) "Sable a chevron gules (argent) between three roses gules (argent) barbed gules (vert)," RUSSELL.

(4) "Sable (ermine) a saltire engrailed gules," SCARGILL.

(5) "Sable two chevronels argent within a bordure engrailed gules," TIRREL.

(6) "Gules on a chevron sable (argent) three dolphins naiant or (embowed vert)," FLAMBERT.

(7) "Sable a cross (ermine) between four escallops argent," PLEASAUNCE.

(8) "Argent a lion rampant sable," MATHEW.

(9) "Sable (argent) on a bend argent (sable) three calves passant or," VEELE.

(10) "Gules a fess chequy or and argent (azure)," WHITTINGTON.

(11) "Argent a mullet or [false] within an orle of six martlets, 3.2.1, sable." [?]

(12) "Chequy argent and or a chief sable with red tufts (? ermines)." [?]

Crest, on esquire's helmet with heavy mantling and wreath: "A falcon volant sable (argent) beaked, legged and belled or."

On dexter shield:

THROKMORTON impaling "Sable (argent) on a chevron argent (azure really sable) between three bucks trippant argent (sable) attired or a mullet for difference," ROGERS.

On sinister shield:

THROKMORTON impaling "Gules, a chevron sable with white tufts (ermine) between ten crosses pattée sable (argent)," BERKELEY OF STOKE GIFFORD.

9. The inscription on mural tablet:—

"Here lieth the body of Sir Thomas Throkmorton of Tortworth Knight who lived all his dayes in faithfull service to his Prince in hartie love his countrye. A constant Professor of the true Christian faith who being at the age of threescor and nine yeares in happie and peaceable manner departed this life the last daye of Januarie in the yeare of our Lord 1607 leaving here his mortail partes interred in this monument until by the command of Christ it rise again immortail.

"'I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course I have kept the faith, henceforth is laid up for mee a Crowne of righteousness.' 2 Timo. 4. 7–8."

SIR THOMAS THROKMORTON, died 1607, aged 69.

10. The armour is painted a deep red with the details in gold, the hosen and cuffs yellow, the sword, cushion, mattress and crest at feet black. The details at the back of the tomb are gilded.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed against the east wall of the south aisle where

formerly stood an altar. For many years, previous to 1894, the monument was concealed behind an organ, which occupied the whole floor space of the last bay of the aisle.[1]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigy is in very good condition, and well looked after.

15. Sir Thomas Throkmorton, Knight, of Coss Court, born 1548, was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Throkmorton by Margaret, the fourth daughter of Thomas Whittington, of Pauntley, co. Gloucester. He was twice married, his first wife being Ellen, daughter of Sir Richard Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford, and his second, the daughter of Sir Edward Rogers. He had two sons by the first wife, John, who died without issue, and William, who was created the first baronet, and married Cicely, daughter of Thomas Baynham, of Clowerwall.[2]

The memorial effigy of his grandson, Sir Baynham Throkmorton, Bart., is in the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.

The Society is indebted to Mr. W. Moline for the excellent photograph of this effigy.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, xix. p. 432.
[2] *Gloucestershire Visitation*, p. 163.

THE PRIORY OF ST. GUTHLAC, HEREFORD.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY AT HEREFORD,

By the Rev. CANON BARTLEET, M.A., F.S.A.

The subject of the notes I am to read this evening would be a justification, if justification were needed, for the meeting of a Gloucestershire Archæological Society in this city of Hereford. Of the six dependent priories of the great Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, four of them are within the diocese, and three within the county of Hereford. Of these St. Guthlac was the most important, and probably the most ancient. It is not easy to give a complete history of it. There is no record, so far as I know, of its foundation, and its later history is really a part of that of St. Peter's, Gloucester, of which it was a cell. Its history just before its being given to St. Peter's is perhaps not quite clear, though probably a more complete study of the documents relating to it than I have been able to make would remove any difficulties which a partial knowledge of them leaves with the reader.

As regards the founder and the date of the foundation of what at first was a college of Secular Canons, its dedication suggests what I think is a probable conjecture.

St. Guthlac was a hermit and saint of much renown about the middle of the eighth century. His fame does not appear to have continued to a much later period, and the date of the dedication of the priory, as it afterwards became, is not likely to have been much subsequent to his death in A.D. 714.

Some description of the patron saint may be a not unfitting preface to the notes I have to communicate about the priory with this dedication. There is more authority for what we are told of him than for the history of many in the early hagiography of our own and other branches of the Church Catholic,

for his biography was written within less than thirty-five years of his death by Felix, an East Anglian monk probably, as he dedicates it to Elfwald, King of the East Angles A.D. 747–9. Felix had never seen Guthlac, but he states that he derived his knowledge of him from those "who were with the blessed man and saw his life with their own eyes."

The name "Guthlac" is given by Kingsley as "battle-play" or "the sport of war." Felix interprets it as the equivalent of "belli-munus," "an augury of the reward which would be his for contending against evil." He was born of a noble Mercian family. His childhood is described as bright and innocent, but "when his strength waxed and he grew up to manhood, and thought on the strong deeds of the men of yore, his disposition was changed, and he collected a great host of his companions, and himself took weapons. Then wreaked he his grudges on his enemies, and burned their city, and ravaged their towns, and widely through the land he made much slaughter."

But he was not a mere leader of banditti. "He wreaked his grudges on his enemies," by which I understand the enemies of his nation. He was a great border-chief fighting the battle of the Mercians against the Britons.

And even in this cruel warfare there was something of chivalry and generosity, for he always returned a third part of the booty taken to the conquered foe.

"Suddenly," his biographer says, "he was inspired with a divine awe, and his heart filled with spiritual love, and he vowed to God, if He spared him till to-morrow, he would be His servant." "When the darkness was gone he arose and signed himself with Christ's rood." He bade his companions farewell, and went to the monastery of Repton, remaining there two years.

The lives of the early hermits were recited there, and Guthlac was fired to imitate them. He had received the tonsure, and had learned during his two years at Repton the psalms, canticles, hymns and prayers after the ecclesiastical

order; and with the consent of his superiors, he chose as his abode an island in the desolate fen country north of Cambridge. Kingsley's description of it in his notice of St. Guthlac tells what a dismal, unwholesome country it was. He selected the dreariest island in the wide fenland, and arrived at Crowland, or Croyland as it was called, on St. Bartholomew's Day, and St. Bartholomew was henceforth his patron saint, and the humble religious house he built was dedicated to him.

There is much of interest related of his life there, and his battles with terrible and horrible fiends, the creation possibly of delirium in the course of attacks of malarian fever, which a resident in those unwholesome marshes could hardly escape. Or they may have been—as I believe Kingsley suggests—the remains of the British race which took refuge in these inaccessible fens, and which had degenerated in these dismal swamps to creatures of demoniacal ugliness.

But there is much that is beautiful and attractive told of St. Guthlac in his fenland abode. There are stories which remind us of St. Francis of Assisi, of his intimacy with the birds and beasts and fishes around him, and how while he received some visitors there were two swallows sitting on his shoulders and "lifting up their song rejoicing." When one wondered at his power over these and other creatures, he said, "Who hath led his life after God's will, the wild beasts and the wild birds have become more intimate with him; and the man who will pass his life apart from worldly men to him the angels approach nearer."

It may seem that there was more of contrast than similarity between St. Guthlac and St. Francis of Assisi, between the hermit and the persuasive and attractive preacher whose mission took him much from his home. But St. Guthlac did not live in perpetual solitude. He had with him constant attendants, and he had many and frequent visitors. He was a missionary, not indeed going to others, but receiving very many who came to hear and see and learn of him.

But what can be the connexion between the hermit in the

eastern marshes and our western city of Hereford? Why is St. Guthlac commemorated here? There are nine churches which bear St. Guthlac's name, and they are all of them in the eastern, or East Midland, counties of England. Why should there be a religious house so far west of the fen country with this dedication?

Well, among those who visited the saint at Crowland was Ethelbald, King of Mercia from A.D. 716 to 757, and who at that time was in exile during the reign of Ceolred. Ethelbald, nephew of the famous Mercian king Penda, might almost be described as a disciple of St. Guthlac. He received from him the assurance—regarded in the saint's biography as an inspired prophecy—that he should succeed to the kingdom of Mercia, and when this happened he founded the Abbey of Crowland, on the site of his master's abode. He was a very generous benefactor to many religious houses, to some as near to Hereford as Worcester and Evesham. May he not have been the founder of the Priory of St. Guthlac here? He was probably not unfrequently at Hereford, which was on the borders of Wales, and was a frontier city of his kingdom; and if he founded a new religious house, it may well have been dedicated to the master to whose prayers and prophecies he attributed his accession to the crown of Mercia. It seems a not unreasonable conjecture that the priory, on which I am asked to contribute some notes, owes its foundation to Ethelbald, the friend, and in some sort the disciple, of St. Guthlac; or, if not to him, to his kinsman and successor, Offa, whose palace was within three miles of the priory.

Duncombe, the historian of this county, following, I believe, Leland, describes Walter de Lacy as the founder of St. Guthlac's, and says that he "built the Church of St. Peter in Hereford, and founded a community there in honour of St. Guthlac." It is very unlikely that a Norman baron should have adopted such a dedication, though it is perhaps possible that the offices in the new church of SS. Peter and Paul, built by De Lacy, may have been said by the monks of St. Guthlac before the

community for which the newly-built church was intended was formed. I do not know, however, of any evidence of even this association of the two houses at this early date. The priory founded by Walter de Lacy was, I think, certainly independent of St. Guthlac, and was given by Hugh de Lacy to the Abbey of Gloucester before the gift of St. Guthlac's. In Domesday the manors of St. Peter's and those of St. Guthlac's are always mentioned separately, and in the confirmations by Archbishop Theobald and Kings Henry I. and Stephen they are always recorded as separate gifts by separate donors. They do not even occur in succeeding clauses of these confirmations, and the dates at which they were acquired by the Abbey of Gloucester were apparently different. St. Peter's was given in A.D. 1100 I do not find any notice that St. Guthlac's was given until 1143, a distinctly later date. The sites, too, of the monasteries were at first apart. That of St. Peter was by the market, "in foro," and that of St. Guthlac in the court of the castle, "intra ambitum Castelli."

It was in the year 1163 that Robert de Betun, Bishop of Hereford, on the ground that a market-place or a castle, being places of tumult and of blood, did not conduce to the peace of those who were serving God, brought together the two churches, and built a house for their joint use beyond the walls of the city, in a place more fit for religion, and dedicated it by the name of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and of St. Guthlac, committing it to the charge and custody of the Church of the Blessed Peter of Gloucester. He recites in this charter that Robert de Port—I think he may have been constable of the Castle of Hereford—who had long time unjustly held the Church of St. Guthlac, though a layman, acknowledged before the bishop, the dean and canons, and others, his great fault, and made restitution. From this time what I believe were originally distinct foundations were united, and though the house was under the triple dedication of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Guthlac, it was generally known by the name of the last of these saints only, the priory dedicated to him being

much the older foundation, as well as the wealthier and more important. Not less than twelve manors and lands are described in Domesday as appertaining to St. Guthlac in Herefordshire, and there were possessions in Worcestershire, and probably in other counties. Domesday affords another proof, if proof were wanting, that St. Guthlac's was an earlier foundation than that of Walter de Lacy, for it describes one Alured as holding Pembridge, Earl Harold having held it T.R.E., adding: "This manor the canons of St. Guthlac claim: and they say that Earl Godwin and Harold his son had unjustly taken it from St. Guthlac." I only notice one manor in the Survey as belonging to St. Peter's, Hereford, viz. Frome, which is described as the gift of Walter de Lacy, with the consent of King William.

The following is a description of the priory at the suppression, in the *Topographer*, quoting from the Harleian MSS. (6868) in the British Museum. I have not been able to refer to the original, and have no information of its date:—

"It (St. Guthlac's) was suppressed among the rest of the priories aliens at the dissolution of the abbies in the reign of Henry VIII. Though a cell, and then farmed by one John ap Rice, it had larger demesnes. The site itself on the north-east side of the City without Biesters gate very pleasant and large, with much land, spacious gardens and orchards, fine walkes, a small rivulet running under the walles, called Eighe, the buildings large and great, stately chambers and retirements, a large melancholy chappell, which being built with many descents into it from the ground, and then of a great height in the roofe, struck the enterers with a kind of religious awe."

This description would be by one who saw the priory soon after the dissolution, as it is described as "farmed" by one John ap Rice, and it was to a man of that name that St. Guthlac's was granted, subject to a yearly payment of 44s. 9d., the manors and advowsons, &c., &c., of the priory having been purchased by him for an annual rent of £40. I notice in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* one Ludovic ap Rees is named as bailiff

for the monastery of many of its manors. It may have been a son of his, or a relative, who became possessor of the lands for which one of his family had been agent.

The writer of the article in the *Topographer* says the picture of St. Guthlac "upon the south wall of the Chapple of the Priory near to a small west door that went into the monks garden was remaining there to be seen lately in my time." The date of the volume containing the letter is 1789, so the chapel, and even some of its ornament, must have endured until close to the time of the building of the present edifice on its site in 1793.

There is one other notice of the ruined priory in the military memoirs of Colonel John Birch, published by the Camden Society. The memoir is dated 1645, and describes the taking of Hereford by the Parliamentarians:—

"Being marched neare the Citie as you were advised fitt for your turne, thence drewe 150 firelocks in to that old priory which lay just by the roade leading to Bysters gate. Then you tooke the constable and sixe men, and laid him with them in the priory, giving this order to the Constable: that when you put of your hatt where you lay above him a good distance that you might see when the gate opened, and the towne Mayor gone, and the guard did growe thinn, and he should go on, and the firelocks commanded by Lieftennant Collonel Raymond and Captain Browne gave this order, that when the Constable was just at the drawbridge they should rush out; and to the main body, that when they sawe the firelocks run they should hasten."

The account goes on to say how Hereford was thus taken by the Parliamentarians.

I have not wished to take up your time by relating various incidents in the history of the priory, such as disputes as to the election to the priory, of which one at least was regarded as of much importance at the time. Nor have I spoken of the characters of any of the priors—though one of them, at any rate, has deserved some notice. One ought to have mentioned

that the founder of St. Peter's, Walter de Lacy—which was afterwards incorporated with St. Guthlac's—when viewing the progress of the work he was carrying out, fell from the ladder on which he stood and was killed, and was buried in the Chapter House of St. Peter's, Gloucester.

Bernard Quarre—provost, I think he was called, of St. Peter's—was slain before the altar, and his body was removed to the new church built by Bishop Robert Betun.

As to the number of monks at St. Guthlac's we have no information, except at a time shortly before the dissolution, when monasticism was less flourishing. There were six, including the prior, who voted at the election of the Abbot of Gloucester in 1510, when John Newton, D.D., Prior of St. Guthlac's, was the selected candidate ; and the same number voted at the election of William Malverne, the last abbot, who succeeded Newton. The priories of Bromfield, Ewenny, and Leonard Stanley were each represented by three electors, no names being recorded from Kilpeck and Ewias Harold. At the first election fifty monks from St. Peter's Abbey voted, and at the second forty-one.

The seal of the convent is described as "the figure of an old man seated on a stool having a staff in his right hand, towards which his face is directed, and a book in his left."

In a description of what must be another seal of the priory, the impression is said to be "a young man's head, apparently not that of a religious person, but rather of a warrior, but without a helmet." I suspect in each case a representation of St. Guthlac is intended.

The arms of the priory are "Gules, a wyvern passant, wings displayed and tail nowed, or. On a chief azure three mullets or."

I should like to invite my hearers to inspect the site of the old priory, but this is now impossible. No one is admitted to it except by order of one of His Majesty's Judges of Assize, or of the Recorder, or the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, or in some cases of the Justices of the Peace for the county or city.

These orders are only given to persons having a qualification which I am sure is not possessed by any to whom I am now speaking. The site is occupied by a community whose rules are stricter and its discipline more severe than those of the Benedictine or any other order. The head of it is not named abbot or prior, but is called the Governor or Chief Warder of His Majesty's Prison.

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1906.[1]

VII.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

It is interesting that I can once more begin my annual notes with a reference to prehistoric times, and trifling as is the evidence, it is invaluable to have further traces of the existence of man of the prehistoric Iron Age upon the site on which the Norman town of Bristol grew up.

Members are doubtless quite familiar with the illustrations of the various finds of that period, described in my notes of 1900,[2] 1902,[3] and 1903,[4] more especially in those of 1900, which recorded and illustrated the first finds of such an early occupation of the small peninsula that was, as it now is, nearly surrounded by the waters of the Avon and Frome.

As the result of constant watching during deep excavating on the bank of the smaller river, principally in the Pithay district, during 1906, I have again been fortunate in obtaining several interesting objects, which I will briefly describe.

The well-pointed and polished bone needles and spindle whorls of the earlier finds just referred to seem to indicate actual occupation, and show that necessary domestic work had been carried on by the owners of those implements; that is, by the women of the village living upon this marshy site, which has always been considered by Professor Boyd-Dawkins to be one of a group of fortified oppida.

I have pleasure in exhibiting a *small bone pin*, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, which it will be noticed is very crude. The top is slightly broken, and it is difficult to surmise for what purpose

[1] Read at the Bristol Evening Meeting, January 23rd, 1907.
[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 270.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xxvi., p. 139. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii., p. 330.

the pierced flat extension was required. It was found at a depth of eighteen feet below street level in July last, and is the only object relating to dress yet discovered. It had probably been worn by one of the "ladies of the camp." (See illustration, Fig. 1.)

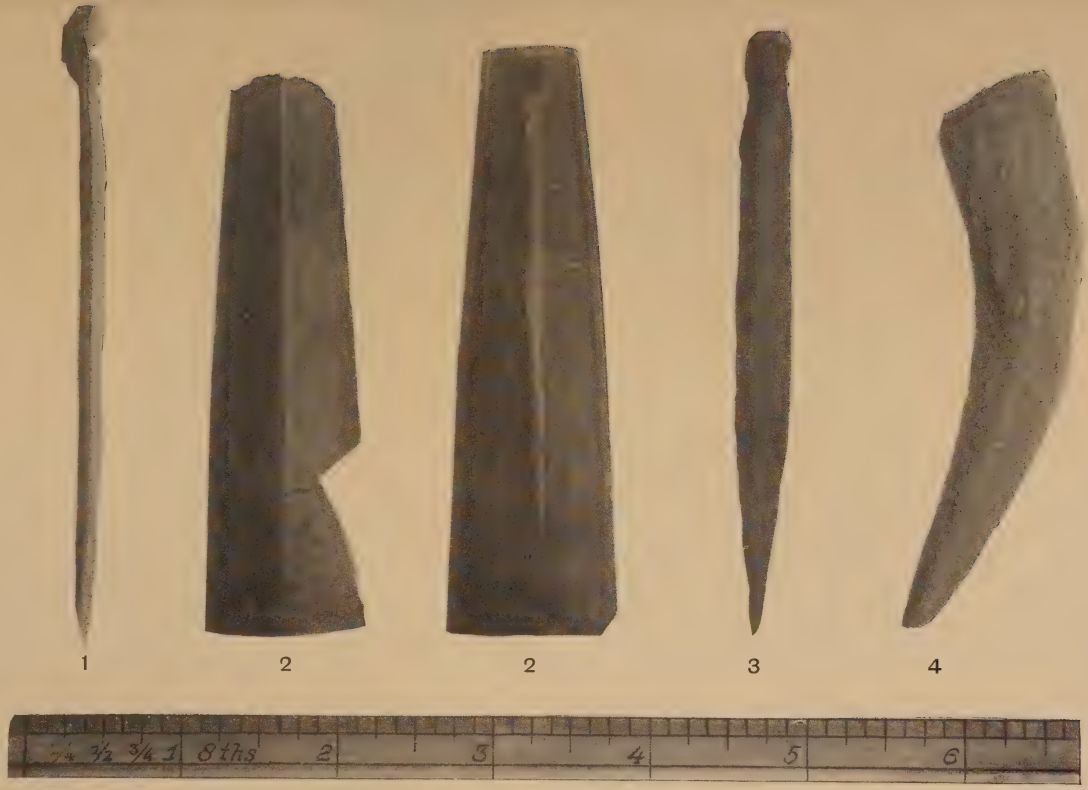
The two bone sides of the *handle of a weapon*, probably a dagger, each $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, were found in September at a depth of twenty feet. It is to be regretted that one side was damaged by a blow from the excavator's tool, and that no blade could be traced, but it is clear that the handle had been affixed with iron rivets, traces of which remain. Daggers belonging to the Iron Age rarely turn up, and nothing at all like this handle has been found, even at the Glastonbury Lake Village. (See illustration, Fig. 2.)

Equally interesting was it to secure another *tine tip* (see illustration, Fig. 4) of the red deer. It was similar to those previously discovered, and had been drilled to form the handle of an implement or weapon. A pointed *wood plug*, possibly prepared for some work in carpentry for camp requirements, was also found. (See illustration, Fig. 3.)

And the discovery of the tine of a young roe deer was of great interest, for it is only the second specimen yet recorded from Bristol diggings.

Various other *relics* which have turned up during 1906, at depths of from thirty to forty feet below street level, comprise further fragments of black pottery; horns of the early British ox (*Bos longifrons*), and of the domestic goat; a piece of the trunk of a tree showing undoubted marks of having been chopped out with a tool, and a length of about six feet from another trunk, measuring nearly ten inches in diameter; all of which seem to show certain occupation, and apparently by folk of the same prehistoric age as the Somersetshire Lake Village.

As the demands of rapid building in a crowded city like Bristol always preclude extended investigations, we must wait



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PRE-HISTORIC IRON-AGE OBJECTS FOUND IN BRISTOL, 1906.

for further discoveries as occasions arise in other parts of the ancient area before we can hope to elucidate the mode of life upon this site in prehistoric times.

I had several letters during the year about the danger attending the cromlech at Druid Stoke, Stoke Bishop,[1] on account of the building operations around, but I was assured by Mr. Milverton Drake, the owner of the land, in April last, that the stones in question would not be disturbed nor covered up, which will be a satisfaction to members to hear. It had been hoped that we might be allowed to make some "diggings" around the stones, but the owner prefers that this should not be taken in hand at the present time. At the City Council Meeting on May 8th,[2] the Sanitary and Improvement Committee reported that an application had been made for diverting the footpath passing close to these stones. In connection with the proposed diversion, the committee were desirous of making an arrangement whereby the Druidical stones standing on the land should be accessible to persons interested, and as the owner readily agreed with this suggestion, arrangements were embodied in an agreement, to which the Council assented.

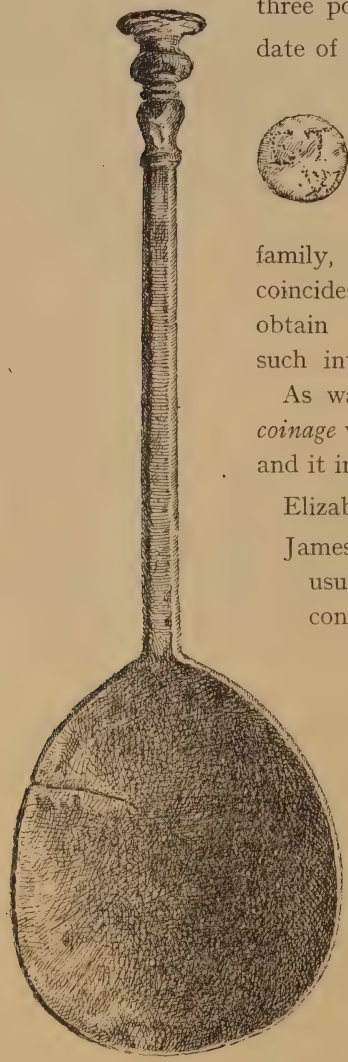
As I have nothing to report concerning the Romano-British period, let me refer to the miscellaneous FINDS of the year, and begin by describing those found during the work in the south aisle at *All Saints' Church* (*city*), which the architect (Mr. Oatley) kindly handed to me for identification, and are exhibited by the kind permission of the churchwardens (Mr. R. H. Carpenter and Mr. John Curtis). The several interesting points which have arisen in connection with the Norman pillars I must leave to Mr. Oatley to record at a later date.

In the first place, a brass *seal-top spoon* [measuring 6¾ inches long] with a pear-shaped bowl came to light in pulling about

[1] Seyer (Rev. Samuel), *Memoirs of Bristol*, 1821, Vol. I., p. 103, with illustration.

[2] See *Western Daily Press*, May 9th, 1906.

the old vicarage. (See illustration.) The top was originally silvered as far as the bottom of the moulding, and the seal bears three pounced letters $\frac{\text{E.T.}}{\text{W.}}$ Now, as the date of the spoon may be approximately taken as *circa* 1635, and the Rev. George Williamson was vicar from 1626 to 1685, it may be assumed that this interesting specimen belonged to his family, as the initial of the surname coincides. It is exceedingly rare to obtain a specimen apparently bearing such interesting identification.



As was quite expected, some sundry *coinage* was found in and about the house, and it included the following :—

Elizabeth Shilling, in poor condition.

James I. Half-crown (1604–25) of the usual type, m.m. a lis, and in fair condition

Charles I. Farthing Token (or Harrington).

Bristol Circular Farthing, dated 1652, with the letter R. under, for Ramage, the engraver. In unusually fine condition.

Charles II. Farthing, issued in 1674.

William and Mary Halfpenny, 1691.

Three Abbey Pieces, too worn to decipher.

Two merchants' Lead Tallies, and a Lead Weight.

A part of a string of small cut Steel Gilt Beads, *circa* 1800, probably French.

These are now preserved in the Vestry.

Then in January, when the roadway of *Lodge Street*, in the parish of St. Augustine, was taken up for the purpose of laying new water pipes, several objects were found :—

A Stone Shot,[1] probably of the fourteenth century, at a depth of seven feet, near the top of the street.

Several seventeenth-century clay Tobacco Pipes of Bristol make.

A fragment of Encaustic Tile, possibly from the site of the Carmelite Church just below.

An Abbey Piece of a somewhat scarce type. The device on the *obv.* a Crown or Coronet, with the legend, "AVE. MARIA. GRACIA. P." On the *rev.*, a foliated cross within a quatrefoil.

With regard to Abbey Pieces, there is still a good deal of mystery as to their original use. It is, however, believed that they were issued only for the use of monks and pilgrims in travelling between religious houses as a passport for admittance. They have been largely found upon and near the sites of such houses, hence their name.

When the thoroughfare at the top of *St. Michael's Hill*, by Highbury Place, was pulled up for a similar purpose in February, it was noticed that the workmen cut through two older roads at lower levels, the lowest being eight feet beneath the present road.

During the work a Stone Shot,[2] similar to the one found in Lodge Street, and a lead bullet were dug up on the lowest level. Several ancient horseshoes were also found, which probably ranged from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and a number of fragments of eighteenth-century combed pottery.

[1] and [2] presented to the Museum by the writer.

In the garden ground of *The Fort* (Miss Tyndall's residence) close by, a seventeenth-century Buckinghamshire Trader's Token was turned up, which had been issued by one Daniell Sayer of Winslon (Winslow). This bears the arms of the Grocers' Company on one side.

From other excavations in our midst sundry fragments of mediæval pottery, and also of later periods, have turned up, all shedding side-lights upon the domestic life of those times.

Though the usual title appears on this my annual paper, I might have added a supplementary one, for a good deal of what I have to say would be more appropriate under the style of the

PASSING OF OLD BRISTOL,

for during 1906 our losses in examples of ancient architecture have been unusually severe.

A London correspondent in *Notes and Queries* asked two very pertinent questions in a recent number. He said :—

> " Lord Macaulay [in his *Life and Letters*, by his nephew, G. O. Trevelyan, M.P., 1877, vol. i., p. 165] is recorded as saying :
>
> " ' In London, what with the fire of 1666, and what with the natural progress of demolition and rebuilding, I doubt whether there are fifty houses that date from the Reformation.'
>
> " This was in 1830-2. Are the very few that must remain to-day noted ? and which are they ? "

Surely we may well ask what would the total of our historic houses be if a careful perambulation of the city was made. And I am inclined to think that perhaps an annual schedule might make us individually more careful in the retention of our old domestic buildings.

We began the year 1906 most disastrously, for on the 15th of January a fire broke out upon the property now known as

Back Hall, anciently called *Spicer's Hall*,[1] when nearly all of the few interesting remains of that great house were destroyed.

It originally faced the Welsh Back, extending towards Baldwin Street in the rear, and appears to have been erected by Richard le Spycer or Spicer, a renowned merchant of the Middle Ages, whose family had held official positions in the city since early in the thirteenth century, when a certain Thomas le Spycer was Prepositor (1223-4).

Richarde le Spicer, with whom we are concerned, undoubtedly an important personage, was three times mayor,[2] in 1353, 1354 and 1371 or 1372, and represented the city in Parliament in 1355.

Barrett tells us he founded a chantry at St. Nicholas, of the value of £12 7s. 11d.; and according to William Wyrcestre, Spicer founded the Chapel of St. George[3] in the old Guildhall, but the remains of the chapel were demolished when the new building was erected in 1843. From the city records we also find that in 1377 Spicer bequeathed his residence and seventeen other tenements in Bristol to the Mayor and Corporation.

Now as Tyson, a noted Bristol annalist, quoting from a MS. under date 1569[4]—says that John Willis, chamberlain of this city, "obtained the Back Hall for a gift to the city; wherein he himself dyed," we can only assume that there were two properties close together, for Spicer's Hall had been given to the city nearly two hundred years previously. If this was so, the more convenient style of "Back Hall," from its position on the river-side street, has apparently continued in common use for both.

No records exist as to the size of Spicer's house, and we can only assume from the scanty remains that it was originally

[1] Latimer (John), *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers*, 1903, p. 18.

[2] See Latimer's list of civic officers, *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxvi., p. 125.

[3] Barrett's *History of Bristol*, 1789, p. 493.

[4] See Tyson's Brlstol *Memorialist*, 1823, p. 44.

a most important pile, erected by this wealthy burgess for his own occupation.

It was entered by an unusually fine doorway,[1] which is in the possession of the city, as pointed out in my notes of last year.

The door itself contains seven panels, with exquisite tracery over. Equally ornate are the carved and shaped side brackets, and the groining springing from the capitals of the side shafts flanking the entrance is also a particular feature of the work.

This woodwork was taken down in 1885, and certain fragments of domestic screen-work within were removed at the same time, though they have disappeared.

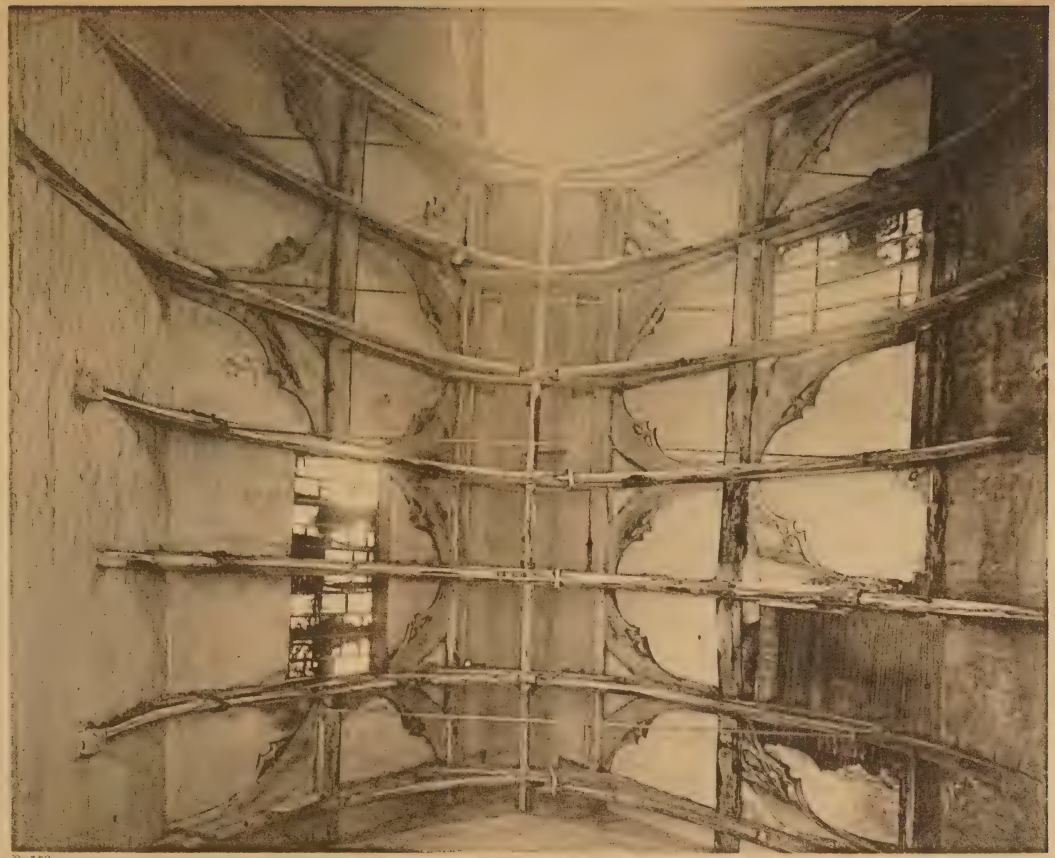
It is futile to attempt a plan of the building, for Seyer, who wrote in 1821, could only offer conjecture as to the use of some of the apartments, and Barrett, who penned his history thirty years earlier, only mentioned the name "Back Hall" once.

With regard to the recent catastrophe, the fire unfortunately destroyed what little remained of the original roofs and floors in the centre of the group of buildings, but the unique *roof* of the apartment considered to be the hall was untouched. (See illustration.) This spacious compartment, which is now used as a warehouse, is situated nearer the Welsh Back than Baldwin Street, and is over thirty feet in height.

It is fortunate that Mr. Dollman, an enthusiastic architect who visited Bristol and saw this interior nearly half a century ago, left some detailed drawings and notes.[2] After referring to the doorway he said: "The front towards the 'Back,' or quay, is now occupied by small tenements. Proceeding by a passage to a courtyard in the rear of the house, there are on the right hand the remains of the screen forming the

[1] Seyer (Rev. Samuel), *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i., p. 366, and plate in vol. ii.

[2] See Dollman and Jobbins, *Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture*. London, 1863.



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ROOF OF BACK HALL.

entrance to the hall, now entirely bare, deserted, and decayed, the dimensions of which are 32 ft. 3 in. by 21 ft."

Since that time a slice of the hall has been walled off for business purposes, the length being now about 25 ft. 9 in. ; and whereas the roof was formerly divided into ten bays, only seven are left, though traces of the others are visible outside the dividing wall. It is, however, still in its original condition, and remarkably well preserved for its age.

Mr. Dollman further said : " The roof is plain, but good in character, and consists constructionally of principal and common rafters, collar, purlins (the angles of which are chamfered), and moulded wall plate. Under the collar, which is high up between the rafters, is a large main arch, with chamfered edges, resting at the foot on a foliated capital in each alternate truss, the intermediate one abutting direct on the wall. There are two tiers of arched wind-braces, the centres of which alternate one over the other. The wind-braces are traceried, and the general effect is exceedingly good."

If you visit the place you will notice that longitudinally the apartment runs almost north and south. On the west wall the alternating corbels comprise two representing foliage and one grotesque mask-head ; and on the east side one of foliage and two grotesque mask-heads.

Besides the roof, there escaped destruction four carved Dundry-stone corbels, representing grotesque mask-heads, which at a later date had been inserted in the south wall of the central apartment, now in ruins, sometimes described as the dining-hall. My impression is they originally belonged to the apartment just described, where three similar corbels still exist. (One is illustrated as a tail piece.)

As the premises, in consequence of the fire, would have to be rebuilt, I approached Mr. Rowland Adams, the tenant, in April last (as he holds the warehouses on lease from the Corporation), in order to ascertain if he would allow these fourteenth-century carvings to be removed to the Museum,

and he gave a generous and ready release, provided the Estates Committee of the city concurred. Permission having been granted by that body on May 4th, your Secretary undertook to carry out the transfer of the corbels on behalf, and at the expense, of a few members of the Society,[1] and the gift was duly acknowledged on June 29th, in that form, by the Museum Committee.[2]

In sending these specimens to the Museum and Art Gallery, I expressed the opinion that these interesting heads would form yet another contribution towards an "Architectural Court," which it is hoped will be provided before long.

Another feature of interest exists upon the Back Hall property, for built into a wall on the west side is an "achievement," representing the arms of the city. The carving is probably of the middle of the seventeenth century, but nothing is known of its history. Also on the right side of this panel is a carved emblem of George I. Both these examples have been built into framework of a much later date, and now await their fate.

Two *old inns* have been lost to us during the year, and each possessed an interesting exterior.

The "Rising Sun," at the corner of Lower Castle Street (sometimes called Castle Ditch) and Ellbroad Street, to which I have drawn attention many times, was a very small house, and evidently erected early in the reign of James I. It was doubtless much frequented during the stirring times of the Civil Wars, being situated just without the castle walls.

Those who gazed at it when passing, but had not entered its portals, could never have imagined how interesting was the interior, for externally it had been much altered since its erection.

The accommodation was small, and the rooms were very

[1] Messrs. C. E. Boucher and C. B. Fry, Dr. Harvey, Mr. G. H. Oatley, Mr. J. J. Simpson, and the writer of this paper.

[2] See Report of Museum and Art Gallery for 1906, p. 42.

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THE "RISING SUN."

THE "RISING SUN."

low, but the bar-parlour, on the right hand on entering, possessed a curious stone chimney-piece with a carved centre panel, intended to represent "Adam and Eve," and a smaller panel of an eagle. The typical moulded ceiling divided by a rare oak beam, the walls covered with finely-moulded original panelling in oak, the quaint window of leaded panes, and the unusually wide window-sill together formed a notable interior. (See illustration.)

This room has probably attracted as many artists visiting our city in search of "old-world" corners as any other bit of Bristol, and yet how very few members of this Society knew of its existence.

Now the back kitchen, which was rarely in a presentable condition years ago, and into which visitors were hardly ever allowed to enter, possessed a carved stone chimney-piece exactly three hundred years old, which was quite unique, being late Elizabethan in style, and an unusual specimen, because dated. The shield in the centre of the frieze carries the initials of the builder, and also the date of its erection, T. M. A. 1606. On either side of the shield the carving consists of short panels of typical scroll work, and a large Tudor rose. (See illustration.)

Of the bedrooms, the front one at the corner on the first floor must be specially referred to, as besides being largely panelled in original oak, it contained a handsome moulded plaster cornice, representing griffin-like monsters,[1] divided by mask-head brackets. Below this was a carved oak frieze of Renaissance ornamentation, specially noteworthy from the fact that several shields, each bearing the same initials as on the chimney-piece in the back kitchen, intersected the design; but who the builder was I am unable to say.

Largely owing to the inconvenience of the premises, the owners, Messrs. Georges & Co. Ld., made an application to the city authorities in March to rebuild, and this was granted on the understanding that the line of street frontage should be

[1] Similar to those in the Court Room of St. Peter's Hospital.

set back. This necessitated pulling down the two old messuages in Ellbroad Street adjoining in the rear.

By the courtesy of the Board of Directors of Messrs. Georges, the Chairman of the Museum Committee was approached some time in May with regard to the possible destination of the relics from this house, and having personally met two of the directors at the old inn, at their request, a short time previously (April 24th), I feel I am in a position to realise what was the intention of the board when its emissary first required an answer to the question, "What would be done if the relics were given to the city?"

It was unfortunate that the Chairman of the Museum Committee was only able to point out the position the Committee are in as regards space for exhibiting such objects, and explain that the provision of space for the purpose was under consideration. As that reply was not satisfactory to Messrs. Georges, it resulted in a loss to the city collection of the most interesting Jacobian relics, which would have been of distinct educational value.

During August and September the demolition of the old tavern was accomplished, and the remains, which we have been considering, were deposited in a store pending their re-erection in a modern house, now building from a design by Messrs. Paull and James.

The sequel to be pressed home to every member of this Society is this, that an architectural court is a necessity, and all who take a genuine interest in the architectural and historical antiquities of the city should urge the establishment of this.

No additional costly erection is needed, and is it not a well-known axiom that a provincial museum should firstly collect and preserve local antiquities before seeking foreign exhibits?

The properties pulled down in Ellbroad Street were two late *seventeenth-century gabled houses*, with overhanging frontages, and lean-to shelters over the entrances. Two of the gable ends rested on carved brackets, but the third has

been missing for many years. The houses contained four floors and cellar, but there were no features of interest within the buildings.

The "Crown Inn" was the second old tavern demolished last year. It stood on the Broad Weir, and possessed a double-gabled elevation. I understand the workmen came across some portions of a carved chimney-piece in pulling down the principal room, but all ancient decorations had long since gone.

About the middle of June, when workmen were engaged in laying pipes in the roadway fronting the Council House and towards the centre of the cross streets, they cut into the arches of some cellars, and into some massive stonework which appeared to have been a sustaining arch. Unfortunately no objects of antiquity came to light, and no explanation has been forthcoming as to the origin of this masonry.

The timely protest of this Society (in conjunction with the Bristol Society of Architects) last spring to H.M. Office of Works, against the unexpected and extraordinary order for the removal of two *fire-places* from the County Court Offices for transference to London, was reported at our evening meeting on March 21st, and the communications were fully recorded by the Bristol Press[1] on the following day. Judging by the prompt response and most courteous concurrence, we can only presume the order was issued without a full knowledge of our history as a city.

The principal *fire-place* stands on the ground floor of one of the offices of the High Bailiff, in St. Werburgh's Chambers, Small Street, and measures 9 ft. 1 in. high, and 6 ft. 9 in. across. It is of stone, the frieze containing panels of Renaissance scroll work, divided by a centre leaf-pattern truss, with another on each side; and a border of small ornaments below. The overmantel, also of stone, is

[1] Bristol newspapers of March 22nd, 1906.

surmounted by a cornice of scroll work, bearing the Royal arms (before the union) on a shield in the centre, supported by three brackets, which form two panels having strap-work borders. These panels are quite plain, which was certainly not the case originally, and consequently we lose our clue to the exact date of the work, which may, however, be considered early Jacobian.

The other example, standing 5 ft. 11½ in. high, and 5 ft. 5½ in. across, is fixed in an upper office. This stone fireplace is, I think, also Jacobian, but of later date. The frieze is ornamented by heavy scroll-work, having in the centre what Mr. Were terms a crest or badge—a falcon preying on a pheasant—rather than a coat of arms, which is supported by two monsters; and below is an unusual shell-pattern border.

The many coats of paint on both these specimens besides preserving the beautiful carving possibly cover minor details which might solve the guestion of age.

With regard to the subject of the Dutch House, which has been so fully discussed at our meetings, it is only now necessary to place on record the fact that by the vote of the City Council on October 23rd last, it was decided by fifty votes to fourteen to retain the structure on the present site.

It will be in the recollection of those members who were present at last Summer's Meeting at Bristol, and stood in the guest room of LANGTON'S HOUSE, that I led you to expect further notes upon the subject, illustrated by some pictures by our member, Mr. Moline. He has accomplished his difficult task, aided by artificial light and other resources, and his pictures will illustrate a special paper in a later volume.

The whole of the beautiful interior work of the house has been duly demolished and deported from Bristol, but every particle of the Jacobian remains is to be used in the new house designed by Mr. Lutyens, which is to be hereafter known as

"New Place," Shedfield, Botley, Hants, where, I am assured by Mrs. Franklyn, every facility will be granted for inspection by those genuinely interested in such things.

Bristol—always spoken of as "a city of churches" and "a city of charities"—could also, in the past, have claimed distinction as a city rich in choice domestic architecture; but, unfortunately, owing to various reasons she has been prevented from retaining many of her priceless treasures.

It is sometimes "sanitation," which of course claims the first place in city life, particularly in this hygienic age, though often that excuse might sometimes be over-ridden by a little architectural engineering; not infrequently it is "streets improvements," which are absolutely necessary in a city like ours, when the enthusiastic antiquary has to stand quietly aside; and too often it is the "race for gold," which allows no time for thought.

But in the present case the loss is due to neither of these causes, for the Jacobian fitments of the Langton House have been taken away from Bristol, at great expense, by the lady who owns the freehold for the purest sentimental reasons.

Mrs. Franklyn rightly felt that no business firm could, in these days of rush, possibly take such care of the architectural features as Messrs. Franklyn, Davey & Co. had done during many years past, and as that firm was quitting the old premises, she thought she would build a country house "expressly to safeguard and display the old work," where the chimney-pieces and other features would find a "full and worthy setting."

Though it is greatly to be regretted that everything has gone, we certainly must feel thankful to the owner for her promise to re-erect the principal parts exactly as they have always stood.

It is a most unfortunate loss to Bristol, which will only be realised in time to come; but I am still inclined to believe that if some foresight had been shown, and reasonable space

had been provided within our Museum and Art Gallery precincts for specimens of architectural detail, this exquisite interior work might not now be leaving our midst, nor should we as a city have lost so many similar specimens in the past.

And so, one by one, these priceless relics of our ancient city disappear.

CORBEL FROM SPICER'S HALL.

Notices of Publications.

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST. By ADOLPHUS BALLARD, B.A. London: METHUEN & Co. 1906.

MORE than twenty years have passed away since the eight hundredth anniversary of the compilation of Domesday Book drew attention to the subject, and called forth a good deal of literature, of which the useful little volume by Mr. W. De Gray Birch, and the *Miscellany* of very varied value published by the Domesday Commemoration Committee, at any rate, contained some matter of permanent value. And now Messrs. Methuen have done well by including in their series of "Antiquary's Books" a volume on Domesday, which shall not simply restate what has been long known about the Survey, but shall also give some account of the work which has been done during the last generation, especially by Professors Maitland and Vinogradoff, and by Mr. J. H. Round.

The title of Mr. Ballard's book indicates its scope. It is an account of the "Inquest," the method of the inquiry and its results, rather than, like the work of Mr. Birch, an account of the book itself and its contents. After a short introduction concerning the causes of the Survey, Mr. Ballard takes the series of questions contained in the Cambridgeshire Inquest, and answers them one by one in a series of chapters, full of interest and varied information. It will be best to follow him in the same course. Our Gloucestershire record shows how the Domesday scribes regarded the period between the death of King Edward and the battle at Senlac, when they tell us with regard to five small estates near Gloucester that Harold stole away (abstulit) these five estates after the death of King Edward.[1] It would seem that Harold, during his short reign, had separated these estates from the royal ferm. Above the name "Herald" is interlined "*comes.*" Harold's earldom did indeed include Gloucestershire; it was, however, as king, and not as earl, that he had separated the estates from the royal ferm, but the scribes would not acknowledge his kingship.

It is unfortunate that in his translation of the extract from the chronicle for 1085, describing the great Inquest, Mr. Ballard should have rendered "lett agan ut," "lett gewritan," "lett ut aspyrian," by "*let them find out,*" "*let them write,*" *let them speir out.*" Surely "lætan"

1 D. B., f. 165, b.

here means "*to cause*," and to cause with the sense of compulsion. We have the same meaning in the expression "to let fly." When a boy says, "I let fly at the sparrow," he does not mean that he permitted the stone to go in the direction of the bird, but that he drove it that way as hard as he could. There must have been a mighty driving force behind the great Inquest. In dealing with the circuits of the Domesday Commissioners, Mr. Ballard seems to have overlooked the fact that Mr. Eyton, in his *Staffordshire Domesday*, pp. 2–6, clearly shows that Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire were in the same circuit.

It is certainly curious that it should be said that Bristol and Wells are omitted from the record. The royal estate of Bertune apud Bristou included 8,693 acres of modern ascertainment, and paid £101 6s. 8d., an amount almost identical with that paid from the commuted nights' ferms of Somerset. The royal estate of Bitton, immediately to the east of it, contained 8,973 acres, and was rated at one night's ferm. The conditions of the two estates are almost identical, though it would seem that the payment from the Bristol estate was rendered in money and divided into portions for the king, the queen, and the governor of the castle. Furthermore, the entry distinctly mentions *Burgenses* of Bristol and churches there; there is not the slightest reason for thinking that Bristol was omitted, though it had not yet been separated from the Barton estate. It is a pity that this error should be copied from one book to another without inquiry. Likewise with regard to Wells, so far from the place being omitted it appears as the head of a large estate containing 30,204 acres of modern ascertainment, and 18,580 acres registered in Domesday Book.[1] Wells was then, however, a mere village, and its men received no chartered rights till the time of Bishop Robert of Lewes, 1136–1166.

With regard to the idea that returns of stock were made in the first instance for the whole of England, and were subsequently omitted from the records of all the counties except Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, it is a pity that Mr. Ballard did not refer to the mention of *Afri*, or beasts of burden, on the Bishop of Worcester's estate of *Clive*, in Gloucestershire[2]; it is likely enough that careful examination of the record would show other accidental survivals of mention of stock. Mr. Ballard mentions only two ways of reckoning money at the date of the Survey—by tale, and by coins which had been assayed and then weighed. But there were really three ways—by tale, by coins simply weighed untried, and by the weight of coins after they had been assayed. The sums due from the royal boroughs of Gloucester and Winchcombe, and from the estate

[1] D. B., f. 89. [2] D.B., f. 165.

of Alveston—where was the king's hunting seat for the Forest of Horwood,—were paid by weight only; but from other estates, such as Tockington and Berkeley, the coins must have been assayed before the weighing. The latter method was clearly the more rigorous one.

The series of chapters which are designed to answer the questions contained in the Cambridge Inquest, are full of information laboriously gathered and admirably arranged, containing stores of knowledge which will be most helpful to every student of the great Record. It may be questioned, however, whether the writer does not attribute greater exactness to the terms used in Domesday than they will bear, or than it was intended by those responsible for the Inquest that they should bear. For example, in the first nine lines of the account of Gloucester the place is called *civitas*, *idem burgus*, and *villa;* while in the last line of the account mention is made of *Burgus civitatis*. It is difficult to believe that the four terms imply four different meanings. Again, on page 60 the following definition is given: "A 'manor' in pre-Conquest times was an estate possessing a hall and demesne, and containing inhabitants of the villan class; after the Conquest it was an estate managed as an administrative unit." In D.B., f. 170, is the following entry: "Walter̄ h̄t un̄ m̄ de 1 virḡ tre̅. Valuit xx den̅. m̊. os 11 solid—*Walter holds a manor of one virgate of land. It was worth* 20 *pence, now two shillings.*" Here clearly the thing spoken of was the same T.R.E. and T.R.W., and in each case it must have been an estate of the simplest type. It would seem that it would not be right to press into *manerium* any more complex idea than that of an estate, of whatever size or kind. So, again, it seems likely that greater definiteness is given to the names of the various classes of tenants than the facts of the case warrant. It is quite likely that a man of a given status would have been described by one name in one part of England, and by a different title in another. For instance, on page 112 it is said that the difference between sokeman and freeman lay in the fact that the latter could sell his land, while the sokeman could not do so without the permission of his lord. But the term "sokeman" does not occur in the Gloucestershire Record, and both classes of owners would have been described as freemen. It is likely that to most of the Gloucestershire jurors the term "sokeman" would have been as unintelligible as "hind" would be on Cotswold now. The student of Domesday will hold his ideas in solution, and keep himself free as far as possible from hard and fast definitions. Mr. Ballard sets an excellent example in this matter, though he does hold to such theories as the "five-hide unit" and the difference between "simple" and "composite" boroughs, which may prove to be among the systems which have their day and cease to be.

There is rather a serious error so far as Gloucestershire is concerned on page 223. Mr. Ballard first mentions that twenty-five out of thirty hides of *Wesberie* were separated from the ferm about 1070, but that yet the sheriff required the whole night's ferm from the remaining five hides; then he quotes a food-rent due from Westbury, about 794,[1] under the impression that this had been paid for the estate, which was afterwards despoiled. But this was not so; the despoiled estate was Westbury-on-Severn[2]; the estate from which the food-rent was due was Westbury-on-Trym, which appears as *Huesberie*.[3] The error is a very natural one, arising from a defect of local knowledge. Similarly (page 66), Wolford, in Warwickshire, was not in Gloucestershire in 1087; and the manor described on page 243 as Burwardescote (Glos.) appears in Domesday as *Boroardescot*, or Buscot, in Berkshire, in which county indeed it is placed on page 250. On page 149 it seems to be implied that the tenants could sell oxen to pay the geld, but surely the oxen belonged to the lord.

The illustrations are well chosen, representing a page of the book itself, with its cover and chest; seals of the Confessor and the Conqueror; and a map showing the distribution of church property at the date of Domesday. Two-thirds of the hidage of Worcestershire, and about one-third of the hidage of Gloucestershire were in the possession of the church; in Middlesex half the hidage, and in Kent 45 per cent. belonged to the church. Of the land in Yorkshire, Warwickshire, Norfolk, and the land of the five boroughs, the church nowhere held more than one-fifth of the hidage, no doubt in consequence of the conquests of the Northmen. With regard to the pictures opposite page 205, comparison with page 178 of Volume I. of Traill's *Social England* would certainly seem to suggest that for "August-mowing" and "June-reaping," "July-haymaking" and "August-reaping" ought to be substituted. There is a good index.

The book provides an excellent introduction to the study of Domesday. Its arrangement is good and methodical, its statements are clear and accurate, and though the opinions of the writer are in no way concealed, they are stated in such a way as not to obscure the witness of the Record to itself. For some time to come the best work on Domesday will be done by earnest students of the text who are content to be careful recorders of what they find, stating only very tentatively the conclusions to which they seem to be led; while the worst enemies of the science of Domesday are those who form theories and systems, and try to interpret the great Record in accordance with their own ideas.

1 K., *C. D.*, clxvi.; *C. S.*, p. 273. 2 D. B., f. 163.
3 D. B., f. 164, b.

ENGLISH CHURCH FURNITURE. By J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A., and ALFRED HARVEY, M.B. London: METHUEN & CO. 1907.

THE purpose of this very helpful book is stated to be to give an account of the more remarkable examples of old church furniture which still remain in English parish churches, with lists of chancel screens, altar slabs and plate, fonts, pulpits, benches, embroideries, chained books and other details. The scheme is a very large one, even though such matters as painted glass, tiles and ironwork have been left out, and it is no matter for wonder that the book has exceeded its fellows in size. Rather it is matter for wonder that so much has been compressed into the allotted number of pages. The writers have made themselves well acquainted with their subject; they tell us that every ancient church in Cornwall, Derbyshire, Hampshire, Leicestershire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire has been visited, a fact which testifies not only to their own knowledge, but also to their fitness to come to a right judgment with regard to the observations and theories of others.

The book takes the form of a series of chapters on the different articles of church furniture which are dealt with, in many cases giving lists, arranged under counties, of the churches in which the best examples of each article are to be found. Of course these lists are not exhaustive; it is likely that one who was well acquainted with almost any county would be able to supply some deficiencies; but they are very full, and in most instances form a very helpful guide to anyone who wished to study any particular branch of church furniture in his own neighbourhood. On the other hand, the writers do not attempt, except in some cases incidentally, to trace out the history of the origin and development of the particular section of church furniture which they are describing. They begin with the altar and its appendages, rails and screens, and they point out quite rightly that the Royal Injunction of 1559, though it permits the removal of stone altars, does not command it, and, in fact, these removals were commonly the result of the directions of bishops and others in power at the moment, who had no real authority to give the directions which they issued. Many stone altars were set up after the Reformation. The one at St. Mary Redcliff, a marble slab on a marble pedestal, must have survived at least till the sixties of the last century, for the present writer possesses a photograph of it in the place of the high altar of the church. There was also one at Newent, a marble slab on iron feet, some thirty years ago. It is clear that there was no customary size for the *mensa* of an altar before the Reformation, and so there can be no rule for the size of the altar slab

now. It is worth mentioning as an instance of the persistence of the tradition, that that on which the Christian sacrifice is offered is rightly regarded in the Church of England as an altar; that about 1825 the old altar table of 1621 in Banwell Church was removed to a room over the south porch, and an altar of wood was set in its place. The vicar at the time was the Rev. Francis Randolph, D.D., Canon of Bristol, and Chaplain to the Duke of York. The authors do not mention an arrangement which remained at St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, till 1878, where there were two sets of altar rails, one forming three sides of a square immediately round the altar, the other running across the chancel in the usual position above a step. To the free-standing reredoses there might have been added that of St. Mary Redcliff, which, since the construction of the Lady Chapel, must always have stood where it does now. With regard to the date of the substitution of communion cups for the old chalices in our district, it may be mentioned that the warden's accounts of St. Thomas, Bristol, note that in 1571 the sum of 19s. 4d. was received as "the overplus of a Chalice and Paten sold in St. Paul's fair to buy a Communion Cup with his cover."

It is curious that the authors do not mention that some of the old silver flagons were obviously originally secular vessels, and bear whistles on the top of the handles. Such are the two flagons of the reign of Charles I. at St. Thomas, Bristol. Of course the whistles are now closed.

With regard to lecterns, it might have been mentioned that the date of the great metal desk in Merton College Chapel can be fixed, for it was bought with a legacy of John Martock, Fellow of the College and Prebendary of Wells, who died in 1503. There is a wooden desk of 1621 at Banwell.

The chapter on screens and rood-lofts, extending over more than sixty pages, is very full and complete; and this is natural, for the screen is essentially English. Nothing is more striking than the difference between the altar in a great basilica as it stands out in the open church, and the altar in an English church, reverently veiled by reredos, choir stalls and screen.

With regard to the use of the rood-lofts, the authors think that they were not commonly used for the reading of the gospel, as the staircases are generally too narrow to admit of the passage of a vested priest. They certainly, however, frequently carried the rood, and sometimes an altar at its foot, while organs were not seldom placed upon them.

There is an excellent list of existing screens arranged under counties, but the authors do not attempt to give any explanation of the apparently capricious distribution of the screens. Why should they be so numerous in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, and by no means plentiful in Dorset,

Wilts and Gloucestershire? To say they are found in regions of good timber is no answer, for Cornwall can never have been a well-timbered district, while the three last-named counties contained the Forests of Cranborne Chase, Selwood and Savernake, and Dene; Hampshire also, with the New Forest, is by no means remarkable for screen-work, which is so often found in Lincolnshire with its treeless wolds. On page 93 we are told that Hubberholme, with its Marian screen, is a few miles from Skipton. Yorkshire is a region of magnificent distances, and in Wharfedale these *few* miles mount up to twenty-one.

It is pitiable to read of the destruction which has been wrought among these beautiful works of art, but one would wish that the authors had put in a sharp word of censure for the women who drive tin-tacks into screens for decorations. The writer has seen a beautiful Devonshire screen ruinously pock-marked from this cause.

With regard to fonts, the authors are clear that some fonts still in existence date from before the Norman Conquest, mentioning the one at Deerhurst as among the number. Fonts, on account of the durability of their material, have a long existence, and it is likely that in many cases the font is older than any part of the church which covers it. Sometimes they were decorated with carving at a later period, as the bowl of the twelfth-century font at Banwell, which was originally smooth, is now ornamented with lily leaves like those on the Virgin's Lily Pot on the tower, *c.* 1380, and with quatrefoils like those on the pulpit, *c.* 1460. It is likely that these decorations were added when the existing nave was built. Though wooden fonts are forbidden by the canons of 1603, a mahogany font of good classic design was in use in the church of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, from 1793 till 1878; it now forms the lectern, and the bowl of the font, underneath the book-board, still holds the earthen vessel in which the baptismal water was contained.

There are good chapters on seats and benches, and on church chests of different kinds. It is interesting to be told that to our district belonged the oldest existing church candlestick in England, the beautiful candlestick now at South Kensington, given to St. Peter's at Gloucester by Abbot Peter some eight hundred years ago, and that it also contains in the four thirteenth-century enamelled candlesticks at St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, the oldest candlesticks still in actual use. These were "discovered" by the late Mr. Singer, of Frome, who visited the church in the sixties of the last century, and after examining the altar-plate asked whether there was anything else of interest. The candlesticks, the true value of which was not then known, were produced. Mr. Singer at once recognised their worth, and they were forthwith locked up

in the church safe. Some years after Mr. Singer again visited the church for the purpose of examining the candlesticks, but he was not allowed to see them on the ground that they were too precious to be shown, and he never did see them again till they were shown to him several years afterwards by the present writer, to whom he told the story. It is well that their value was recognised by an honest man. It is not the case, however, that they form two pairs; careful examination will show that the two smaller candlesticks are not really a pair, though they are very much alike. The church also possesses two silver candlesticks of 1717.

To the list of church libraries might be added the one at Crediton.

With regard to the pre-Reformation occurrence of the Royal Arms in churches, the arms of France and England quarterly are painted on the west face of the rood-loft at Banwell, dating from the period of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

It is only natural that in a book which contains so many place-names there should be some mistakes. On page 97, Dallingworth should be Daglingworth; 116, Lydiard Tregoze is in Wiltshire, not Gloucestershire; 124, a stone screen is attributed to *English* Newton in the text, to *Welsh* Newton in the list; 217, *Bream* should be *Brean*. The picture-titles also need revision. On page 130 Charlton on *Otmoor* is given in the text, *Oxmoor* below the picture; on 134, *Withycombe* appears in the text, *Wilthycombe* as the picture-title; while opposite to 258 *Misonicords*, for *Misericords*, stands as the title of the picture. But these are small matters which can very easily be put right.

The book has a double interest, as showing how much beautiful work remains in our English churches, and it is also a reminder of how much has been lost or wilfully destroyed. A little aisleless remote church, like Withycombe in Somerset, looks externally unpromising enough, with its rough-cast walls, lime-washed even to the battlements of the tower; but within the well-cared-for sanctuary is found a screen which, for the beauty of its workmanship, would not be unworthy of a place in one of the noblest minsters of the land. What there is at Withycombe has been wilfully destroyed in countless English churches under the name of "restoration," and the authors speak strongly with regard to those who wrought this destruction. But they do not speak too strongly. The evil these destroyers do lives after them, and the only way of stopping the mischief, which is still going on, is by pillorying all—clergy, architects and others—who take part in it. The book is illustrated by a large number of well-chosen and well-executed pictures; it is also furnished with an excellent index, and it is distinctly creditable to our Society that one of the authors should be a member of our council.

A COTTESWOLD MANOR, being the History of Painswick. By WELBORE ST. CLAIR BADDELEY. Gloucester: JOHN BELLOWS. London: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO. 1907.

IT is always well when a resident of leisure and ability undertakes the task of setting forth the history of the place in which his lot is cast; not only because the work shows how much of interest clusters round any one of our country villages, but also because there is good ground of assurance that the actual local history of the place will be accurately dealt with. Our members will remember that some few years ago our President wrote a short and most useful history of the church at Painswick, and that is now followed by a history of the manor. The book is, in fact, a good deal more than the history of the manor, for it begins in a period long anterior to the existence of manors, and carries us on to the present day.

Painswick affords ample materials for such a book, for there is hardly a period of history that can be traced which does not find representation on its soil. The oldest notable inhabitant seems to have been a woolly rhinoceros, who left some of his bones behind him; there are ancient earthworks at Castle Godwin and Huddinknoll, with possible pit-dwellings; a very good Roman villa has been examined at Ifold; the Domesday entry relating to Painswick is one of the difficulties of the Gloucestershire Record; and finally, from the reign of the Conqueror till the estate was sold to the Earl of Essex in 1539 it was held in continuous succession by some of the noblest families in the land; so that the historian of Painswick is in no lack of material ready to his hand. An useful table shows the descent of the manor from the date of Domesday until a century ago.

The Roman villa at Ifold was thoroughly described by Mr. Baddeley in our *Transactions* a few years ago. With regard to the name "Castle Godwin," applied to a camp on Painswick Hill, and its possible connection with the expedition of Earl Godwin to Gloucestershire in 1051, it must be noted that the Abingdon Chronicle only takes the Earl to Langatreo, no doubt Langtree Barn, in Avening, the trysting-place of the hundred of that name, while the Peterborough Chronicle takes him to Beverstone, a parish which touches Avening. As Beverstone was a portion of the great Berkeley estate of which Godwin had possessed himself after driving out the nuns to whom it belonged, it was a very natural point for him to choose for the camp where he would assemble the great and countless host which he gathered. The chronicles do not take him any nearer to Gloucester than this point, some dozen miles from Painswick Camp, and the expression in the Abingdon Chronicle

that the northern earls "wished to seek out Godwin's host if the King willed it" would seem to imply that the Earl was at some distance from Gloucester. Of course, however, Earl Godwin may have stationed a small outpost for the observation of what was going on round the King's Court at Gloucester, in the camp, and a tradition of this occupation may have come down to the present day. But Godwin is not an uncommon name, and the camp may take its name from some inhabitant of the district; at any rate, the name "Castle Godwin" can be traced back for two centuries.

Mr. Baddeley leaves the difficulty of the Domesday entry relating to Painswick as he found it, and indeed it seems to be inexplicable. But with another difficulty of the same period he has been more successful, and he seems to have untied a knot which had hitherto remained fast. Painswick appears in Domesday as *Wiche*, and it derives the first syllable of its name from Pain fitz John, who owned it, and who died in 1137, just as *Wichen* in Bachestanes Hundred was known as Wickwar from its owners, the la Warres; but the way in which Wiche came into the possession of Pain fitz John could not be traced. Mr. Baddeley, however, seems to have made it clear that Pain fitz John obtained the property in the right of his wife, Sybil, and that she was the daughter of a sister of Roger de Laci, the Domesday owner. The manor afterwards descended through the houses of de Valence and Talbot to Lord Lisle, who was killed at Nibley Green, and from him to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded in 1553. In his time the place was connected with quite a number of notorious personages. Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn came there in July, 1535, less than a year before that unfortunate woman was executed. On October 16th, 1539, the manor was alienated to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who was beheaded on July 28th in the following year, when it passed by his attainder to the Crown; within a few days it was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir William Kingston, whose wife had brought about the death of her mistress, Anne Boleyn, and when he died on September 14th it passed to his son, Sir Antony Kingston. So that within the space of a year Painswick had belonged to John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, Thomas Cromwell, King Henry VIII., and the two Kingstons, and it is likely that no other estate in England can show so rapid a succession of iniquitous owners in so short a time.

Mr. Baddeley has printed some interesting documents bearing on mediæval manorial history. First, the proceedings at a Manor Court held apparently in 1442 under the great Earl of Shrewsbury, in consequence of the widowhood of several Painswick men who had been slain in

the French war, resulted in a great improvement in the condition of the tenants on the manor, and apparently in the growth of the population there. This document, which was printed by Rudder, is well worth careful study. There is also a Custumal of the reign of Henry VII., together with a short collection of the customs of the manor, and various extracts from the Court Rolls. It is worth noting that the customs of the manor were settled and confirmed by a decree of the Court of Chancery, enrolled under the great seal, and finally, in 1624, ratified by Act of Parliament. Soon after this, during the siege of Gloucester, part of the royal army was encamped on Painswick Hill; the place itself was the scene of sharp fighting, and its lord, Sir Ralph Dutton, suffered heavily for his faithfulness to his king.

In later days the cloth manufacture flourished, and a century ago there were nearly thirty cloth-mills in the parish. Like so many other small towns, Painswick became a home of Nonconformity. The Friends were settled there under the Commonwealth, and in 1689 the Court House was assigned as a place of worship for Nonconformists; the Independent meeting dates from 1705, and a Methodist Chapel founded in 1806 was passed over to the Baptists; there were the usual visits of Whitefield.

An abundance of timber and of good building stone has resulted in more than the usual wealth of interesting houses even for Cotswold, and Mr. Baddeley has very wisely given pictures of the more notable of these houses, and has traced the history of the families by whom they were inhabited. The diligent student of our *Transactions* will recognise some of the pictures among companions, which are not only well chosen, but also well executed, and there is a good index. It is much to be wished that our President's book should be widely read in our shire, and that some of the readers should be moved to do likewise. Few of the small towns of the county have a trustworthy history, and it would only be a fulfilment of the purpose of our Society if some of our members would do for each of them what Mr. Baddeley has done so well for Painswick.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARISHES OF OLD SODBURY AND OF LITTLE SODBURY AND OF THE TOWN OF CHIPPING SODBURY, IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER. By FRANCIS F. FOX, F.S.A. Bristol: J. W. ARROWSMITH, 1907.

IT is certainly a proof that our Society is fulfilling at any rate one of the purposes for which it was founded when we find our Priesdent and our President of Council at the same time putting forth a history

of the place in which they live. The Sodburys have neither so long nor so varied a history as that of Painswick, nor have they anything like such a number of interesting houses, but the book serves to show how much may be learned of the life in days gone by in any one of the many thousands of the villages of England. With regard to the relation of the three Sodburys to each other, it may be taken as certain that Chipping Sodbury, which is a tiny island in the parish of Old Sodbury, was taken out of its larger neighbour at some time between 1086 and 1179. It would seem likely that in early days Little Sodbury and Old Sodbury formed but a single estate; it is certain, however, that in Domesday they not only belonged to different owners, but even lay in different hundreds, so that the union, if it ever existed, must have been rather remote. Sodbury first appears in 888; it had belonged to the cathedral at Worcester, and about a century and a half before had been granted by the bishop to a certain Eastmund and any one of his heirs who might be willing to take Holy Orders. By the time of King Alfred the religious life had fallen into disrepute, the land was held by a layman, and as none of Eastmund's family would take Orders, the Bishop of Worcester claimed that the property ought to revert to the See; the dispute was settled by leasing the land to the holder and his heirs at a perpetual rent. Nothing more is heard of Sodbury till Domesday, where Little Sodbury appears as belonging to the Bishop of Lisieux, and Old Sodbury to the king, but it had belonged to Brictric, son of Algar, from whom it passed to Queen Matilda. The Conqueror granted it to his brother-in-law Odo, Count of Champagne, whose descendants held it for two centuries. It then came into the possession of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, from whom it passed to Warwick the Kingmaker, and ultimately to Henry VII.

The descent of Little Sodbury was quite different till Henry VIII. gave the manors of Great and Chipping Sodbury to Sir John Walshe, Lord of Little Sodbury. William Tyndale served as tutor in the household of Sir John Walshe about 1522, and it would seem that it was while he was there that he formed the resolution of making that translation of the New Testament which has proved the foundation of the work of all who came after him. The name of Tyndale survived in the neighbourhood at any rate until recent times; the present writer found it among the children in the school at the Ridge in Wotton-under-Edge about a quarter of a century ago.

With regard to the church at Old Sodbury, although Bishop Simon of Worcester confirmed it to Tewkesbury Abbey about 1140, and Pope Honorius III. allowed its appropriation to the abbey in 1221, it is likely that it had never passed out of the patronage of Worcester Cathedral,

for in 1218 the Bishop of Worcester appropriated the church of Old Sodbury to the use of the cathedral monastery. After the dissolution of the convent at Worcester, Henry VIII. gave the church to be a part of the endowment of the Chapter of Worcester, for it was to his interest to endow his new chapters with rectories rather than with estates which could be held by laymen. The church of Chipping Sodbury was a chapel of Old Sodbury till 1856.

The exact date of the separation of Chipping Sodbury does not appear, but it was independent before 1179, about which time the same liberties were granted to its inhabitants as were granted by Prince John to the burghers of Bristol, and considerable grants of land were made to them. The government of the town was in the hands of a bailiff and his assistants, till in 1681 Charles II. granted a charter under which it was placed in the hands of a corporation consisting of a mayor, six aldermen and twelve burgesses, with other officers. This, however, proved to be too much of a good thing, and it was surrendered in 1688, since which time the bailiff and his companions ruled the town until the dissolution of the corporation. The old borough possessed two maces, one given by Anne, Countess of Warwick, wife of the Kingmaker, the other acquired in the reign of Charles II. ; it is a pity that Mr. Fox does not tell us where these maces are now. It also possessed lands of considerable value, which gave rise to a good deal of litigation, but the men of Sodbury seem to have held their own fairly well. The cross-shaft, which is attributed by Pooley to 1553 was removed from the public street in 1772, but it has been well cared for ; it remained in a place of safety in an orchard till 1862, when it was removed to the garden of the Roman Catholic Chapel ; the place of the cross is occupied by a stone ball.

There are several good gabled houses at Chipping Sodbury, and the manor house at Little Sodbury is really a notable building, and takes a worthy place among the smaller dwelling-houses of the county. The book contains well-executed pictures of some of these houses, as well as of the church and the maces mentioned above ; there are also three maps on a good scale and very clearly printed of the parishes, the town of Chipping Sodbury, and the park. There is likewise a satisfactory index. The preface states that the occasion of writing the book was that Canon Bazeley, when the Society visited the town, urged on the members the duty of writing the history of the town or district in which they dwelt, and as a result of his exhortation our President of Council has given a really good and well-written account of the three Sodburies.

THE MEDIÆVAL CHAPELS OF BRISTOL.

By ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A.

1. "The Assumption of Our Lady," Bristol Bridge.
2. St. George, in the Guildhall.
3. St. John the Evangelist, Welsh Back.
4. Chapel in Spycer's Hall.
5. St. Clement, Merchants' Hall.
6. St. John the Baptist. (Merchant Tailors.)
7. St. Katherine. (Weavers.)
8. St. Martin in the Castle.
9. The Holy Trinity. (Barstaple's.)
10. The Holy Spirit, Redcliff.
11. In St. James's Churchyard.
12. St. Bartholomew.
13. St. Laurence, Kingswood.
14. St. John Baptist, Redcliff Pit.
15. St. Mary Magdalen's Nunnery.
16. The Three Kings.
17. St. Jordan.
18. The Gaunts.
19. St. Brendan.
20. St. Vincent.
21. St. Mary Magdalen, Brightbow.
22. St. Katherine, Brightbow.
23. St. Anne in the Wood.
24. Holy Cross, Durdham Down.
25. St. Lambert, Durdham Down.
26. St. Matthias.
27. St. Mary, Temple.
28. St. Anthony.

The number of Chapels existing in Bristol in the Middle Ages is remarkable, considering that there were so many parish churches, to say nothing of conventual houses, to which the townsfolk could so easily repair. Their frequency, then, cannot be attributed to a desire for the convenience of worshippers, who without them, as in the case of the rural districts, would have to go considerable distances. Care having been taken that the parish church should not suffer in tithe or offering, the bishop would license such chapels in the interests of the guilds, the hospitals, and the more important houses of the wealthy townsfolk.

In a place of such commercial importance, some of the chapels were specially intended for the seafaring people who would offer prayers and praises for mercies on the great waters.

It is not intended here to enumerate the many chapels which existed in the monastic and parochial churches, but only those which had a separate existence, and which were distinctly associated with lay societies or persons.

St. Mary Redcliffe itself, in the "Certificates of the Chantries,"[1] is styled "The Parishe or Chappell of Redcliff," but it would be absurd to include this magnificent church in our list.[2] A wholesale suppression of these small foundations, unless it could be proved that they were serving some useful purpose, was ordered by the Act I. Edward VI., Cap. 14, which no doubt accounts for the disappearance of many a picturesque building from our streets.

The most important and most prominent of these was

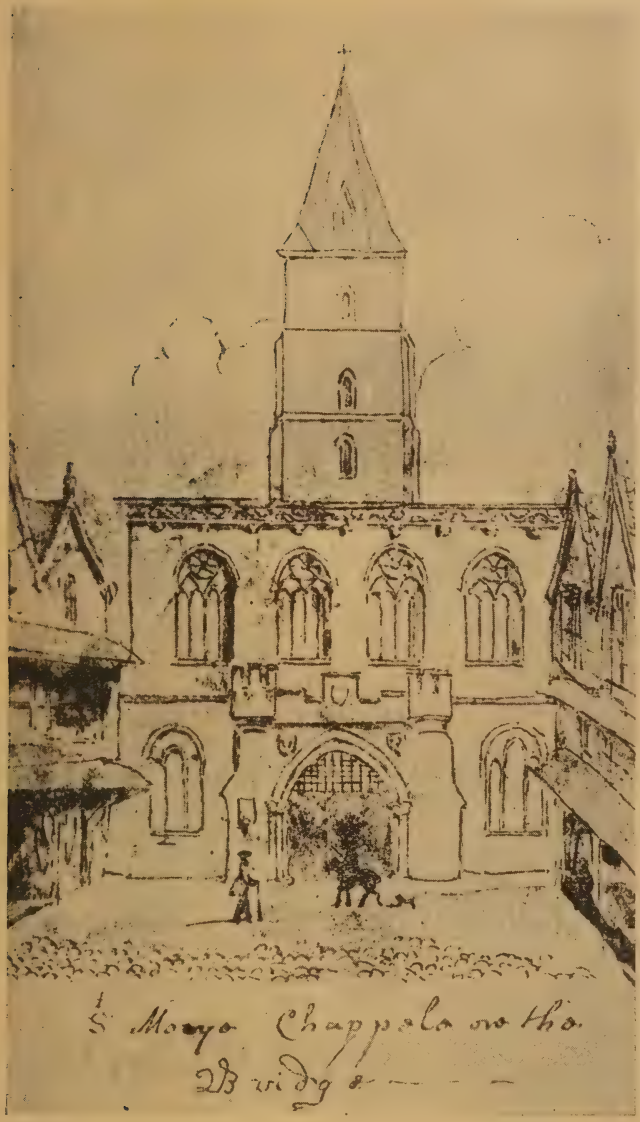
"THE CHAPEL OF THE ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY"[3]

on Bristol Bridge. This has been fully and well described in the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv. It is

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 244.

[2] This church, together with St. Thomas the Martyr and Holy Trinity, Abbot's Leigh, was a chapel of Bedminster till 1852, when these three churches became independent benefices by order in Council.

[3] *William Wyrcestre* (Dallaway's Edition), pp. 27, 41, 108, 109, 116, 120. Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. ii., p. 39. *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. iv., pp. 1–11. "Chantry Certificates," *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 239. Leland, *Our Lady Chapell on Avon Bridge.*



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therefore sufficient to say that as shown in the illustration to that paper, from a drawing of the seventeenth century, the chapel went right across the bridge, and every traveller entering from, or leaving for, the West would pass beneath it.

It was surmounted by a tower and spire rising from the centre, and the chancel was built out on an elevated arch projecting from the bridge and facing up stream eastwards. The chapel was erected and founded by Edward III. and his Queen Philippa, and William Wyrcestre tells us that it was dedicated on the 4th day of February, 1361. He gives various measurements, which may be either 72 feet by 24 feet, or 75 feet by 21 feet. The chapel was most likely left in a ruinous state after the fire of February 17th, 1646, as it was used as a pewterer's shop for some time before the bridge was taken down in 1763.

In the list of Chantry Certificates mention is made of "The Chappell or ffraternytie of thassumption of our ladie in Bristowe," and the deed of foundation given to "the Master and Brethrerne of the said ffraternytie or Brotherhedd," requiring them, after providing divine service, obits, and certain money for the poor people and prisons, to bestow the remainder "towarde the maynteynance and reparynge of the Bridge of Bristowe foreseid piers archez and walles there for the defence thereof agaynste the ragez of the sea ebbynge and flowyng daylie under the same."

The ornaments were valued at £6 11s. 0d. Plate and jewels at 20 ounces. The bell at 62 shillings.

Most of the trade guilds would have their own chapels, but we may assume that the pre-eminence would be assigned to that of the Merchants' Guild, which we distinctively call

THE GUILDHALL.[1]

And here the chapel was dedicated to St. George, who, being the patron saint of England, would give a more national interest than that attaching to the smaller guilds.

Wyrcestre calls it "Domus Gyldhalle," and describes it as

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 67, 97, 126, 143. Evans's *Chronological Outline*, p. 87.

adjoining the tenement in Bradstrete of Master William Botoner, which was the maternal name of Wyrcestre. He does not give the dimensions of the chapel, contenting himself with saying in one place that the breadth of the Guildhall with the Chapel of St. George is 40 gressus, and in another that the breadth with the Chapel of St. George and the cellars is 23 virgas, that is to say about 70 feet. He also describes it as a spacious chapel (capella ampla) founded by Richard Spicer, a famous merchant and burgess of the town about the time of Edward III. or of Richard II., and as belonging to the most dignified fraternity of the merchants and mariners of Bristol. Leland speaks of "St. Georgis Chapell joyning to the Towne House." The earliest view of the old Guildhall is given on Millerd's map, 1673, where the large fifteenth-century east window of the chapel is shown. The front seems to have been much altered in honour of the visit of Queen Elizabeth, for in "the charge of the Queene's Maties enterteignment to the citie of Bristol" is "Setting up the Queen's Arms and the Town's Arms in freestone, in the Guildhall wall. £10 14s. 0d." It was again altered in 1813, the whole front being rebuilt, retaining the great window of the chapel, and this is shown in a view in Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. ii., p. 548, under date 1823.

The whole building was destroyed in 1843, when the large east window was re-erected in the grounds of the Grove, at Brislington. "On removing the roof of the chapel, in the space between the modern ceiling and the rafters, a row of pointed window arches was found in the walls on each side, showing that the building had originally been lofty and finely formed."

Barrett, in his *History of Bristol*, p. 493, speaking of the sessions and assizes being held here, says: "The jury retire into St. George's Chapel to agree about the verdict."

A glimpse of the state of the chapel, when fulfilling its purpose, is shown in *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, where is given an "Inventory of goods and ornaments in St. George's

[1] Latimer, *Nineteenth Century*, p. 254.

Chapel." "In the tyme of William Canynges than Mair, and the yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the iiijth after the Conquest the vjth. [1466] ffirst atte the Hygh Awtere iij awter clothes and an Heere[1] and a ffrontelle and a ffoore awter cloth and a cowple of Candelstykkes of laton. Item more ij hygh awter clothes stayned and a dext,[2] a pax with ij towellys and ij crewettys, and image of oure ladye of alabastre. Item a Torche in the Coofer, and more a Masse-booke, a Chalyce with vij Corporasses, and ij payre off vestymentys hoole, and more an hoole awbe and an hoole Cheezyple, and an olde Chezple of ffustyan. Item an Awter Cloth of Whyte Lynnyn and iiij standardes of Seynt George, and a Trappyng for Seynt George ys horsse, and a quayere[3] of a Sequence in parchement, and an old Chesyple of Purpylle. Item more a Table of the names of the Britherhoode. Item a Speere and a Speere Hedde. Item a dowble dext for the Chappell. Item a Tynnell of Laton."

CHAPEL ON THE BACK.[4] (Capella de ia Bak.)

"The Bake Chapell by cause it stoode by the Bake by Avon. It longeth onto Seint Nicholas."—Leland. It was also called the "Chapel of Thomas Knappe," being founded by "that magnificent man, merchant, and burgess." Mayor 1403.

It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and was near the Marshgate on the Welsh Back. Wyrcestre describes this "Capella vocata Knapp" as "Capella Decens, super le Bak Bristolliœ prope Mershyate est edificatum per venerabilem mercatorem cognominatum Knapp, pro duobus capellanis sustinendis in terris et tenementis, ita quod semper omni die, hora V in mane, illi, vel unus dictorum suorum capellanorum, dicent missam pro mercatoribus marinariis et artificis ac

[1] A covering of hair-cloth to lay on the top of an altar.

[2] Dextera Domini, a hand on the joints of which are inscribed the Paschal golden numbers.

[3] Quaterniones or sheets, for separate festivals. (Small books, stitched, not bound.)

[4] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 74, 89, 100, 110, 111, 115, 135. *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 238. *Bristol Wills*, p. 68.

servientibus, possunt adire ad audiendas missas tempore matutinali."

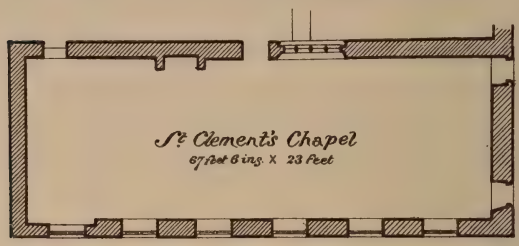
It contained in length 13 virgas (39 feet) and in breadth 6 virgas (18 feet). It also had a cemetery attached to it. The chapel is shown in Hœfnagle's map (1581), but with no regard to scale, as drawn very little smaller than St. Mary Redcliffe, though the length of the latter was six times as great. The list of Chantry Certificates (2 Edward VI.) has the following entry: "The Chappell of Seynt John Evangeliste, otherwise called Knape Chapell within the seid pishe [St. Nicholas], ffounded by oone Thomas Knape to fynde and maynteyne in the same chapell ij priests for ever. There to celebrate and synge daylie dyvyne service and praye for the sowlle of the seid Thomas and Agnes his wiffe.

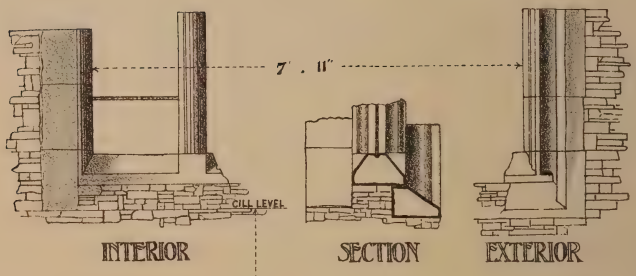
"Sir David Thomas Incumbent of the same of the age of Lj yers having noe other livinge or prmocion then in the seid service w^{ch}

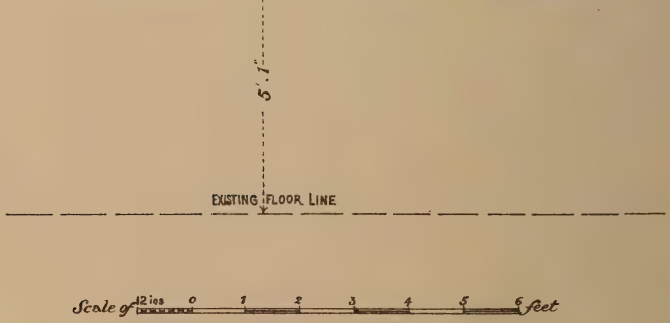
is by yere	vj^{li}	
The rome of the other prieste nowe voide .		
The lands and tenements belonging to the same are of the yerelie value of . .	xxj^{li}	xv^{s}
whereof In repisez yerelie . . .		xlix^{s}
and so remayneth clere by yere . . .	xix^{li}	vj^{s}
Plate and Jewells to the same . . .	noone	
Ornaments thereunto belonginge valued att .	xxxvj^{s}	v^{d}

"Thomas Knappe, by his will dated Sunday next after the feast of St. Barnabas Apostle, 1404 (June 15th), desired to be buried in the chancel of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, on the Back of Bristol, diocese of Worcester. To the fabric of the Parish Church of St. Nicholas £20. To the Vicar thereof for tithes and offerings 100 shillings. Legacies to each Chaplain of that Church, the four orders of friars, and William Pensforde. To servant Avice Knappe, for her marriage, and my brother, William Knappe, 50 pounds of silver apiece. To the Commonalty of Bristol 200 marks of silver. To John

Note - St Clement's Chapel now forms a part of the Merchant's Hall in Bristol - A. G.







DETAILS OF A WINDOW IN NORTH WALL OF THE CHAPEL OF S. CLEMENT

DETAIL OF JAMB AND MULLIONS

FRAGMENT OF TRACERY FOUND IN SOUTH WALL

W. S. Paul
Surveyor to the
Society of Merchant Venturers
24th July 1907

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ST. CLEMENT'S CHAPEL DOORWAY.

Dreyse all effects, lands, and tenements in Bristol or elsewhere; the said John and his wife Margery being made testator's heirs. A yearly rent of £20, for providing two Chaplains to celebrate in all future time in the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, where testator's body shall rest, for his soul, and that of Avice his deceased wife, and the souls of his progenitors, and all the faithful dead."

CHAPEL IN SPYCER'S HALL, WELSH BACK.

In an ordinance dated 1467 (entered in the *Great Red Book* at the Council House) for the regulation of the merchandise of meat, oil, wool, iron and wax, provision is made that the master and fellowship shall have and occupy at their will the chapel and the draught chamber appertaining thereto in the house called Spycer's Hall upon the Back of Bristol, paying yearly for the said hall twenty shillings. Nothing is said of the dedication of this chapel. The late Mr. Bindon[1] attributes it to St. John the Baptist, and confuses it with the neighbouring chapel of Thomas Knappe, which, as we have seen, was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Barrett gives the dedication as St. Baldwin, but does not state his authority.

ST. CLEMENT'S CHAPEL.

Few of the many who are privileged to receive the princely hospitality of the Society of Merchant Venturers are aware that immediately beneath their reception room are the remains of a mediæval chapel, for these have only recently been brought to light during the progress of some repairs.

We learn from Mr. Latimer's *History of the Merchant Venturers' Society*, page 16, under the date 1467, that an ordinance was then made by the Common Council of Bristol, by which "the maister and ffelawshipp (of Merchants) shall have and occupie atte theire wille the Chappell and the Draughte Chamber apperteyninge thereto in the Hows called Spyceris Halle uppon the Back of Bristowe," the said master and wardens paying yearly for the said hall twenty

[1] Bristol vol. *Arch. Inst. Trans.*, 1851, p. 138.

shillings. But the accommodation here proving insufficient, in the year 1493 the Corporation desiring to increase divine worship, and particularly the devotion to the most "blessed Pope Clement, guide and patron of navigation both in prosperity and adversity," granted a parcel of land in Bristol Marsh, now commonly called "Aven Mersshe," adjoining a tower on the town wall, 203 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth, with the intent that the grantees should build thereon a chapel in honour of Blessed Clement, Pope, and that they should perform all necessary repairs at their own costs. This is dated the 14th day of March, in the eighth year of Henry VII. (1493). The chapel appears to have been desecrated in the reign of Edward VI., for there is an entry under 1551 :—

> "Paid two labourers two days apiece to take
> down the altar in the Chapel of the Marsh .. .. ii^{s} viii^{d}"

The merchants continued to meet in this chapel until 1701, when during extensive rebuilding they migrated to St. George's Chapel in the Guildhall.

The view on Jacobus Millerd's map (1673) of "the Merchants' Hall in Bristol" represents this Chapel of St. Clement. It is shown with the principal windows of four lights, square-headed, and with a door at the side, presumably at the south.

It was appropriate in the great port of Bristol that there should be a chapel dedicated to St. Clement, the patron saint of mariners. May it be that the anchor which the mermaid carries as supporter to the shield of the Society, the well-known symbol of the saint, is carried in compliment to him? St. Clement, we know, suffered martyrdom under Trajan, being bound to an anchor and cast into the sea. In the ancient Basilica of San Clemente in Rome he is shown in a mosaic seated by St. Peter, and holding the anchor in his hand. There was a recognition of this saint by way of votive offerings in the precincts of the abbey, for the sacrist of St. Augustine's Abbey accounted in 1491–2 for twenty-two pence as "oblations from the box of St. Clement, adjacent to the Chapel of

St. Jordan, in the Green place."[1] Both George Pryce, in his *History of Bristol,* and J. F. Nicholls, in *Bristol: Past and Present,*" have confused the Society of Merchant Venturers with the "Mariners' Guild," and have assumed that the original Merchants' Hall stood on the site of the present St. Stephen's Chambers, at the corner of Marsh Street and New Baldwin Street, in a lane called "Virgin" or "Maiden" Lane. They go so far as to identify the Chapel of St. Clement with a smith's shop which stood so lately as 1812. Barrett, however, in his *History of Bristol,* speaks of the Merchants' Hall having "a chapel there adjoining dedicated to St. Clement." A large view of the reconstructed Merchants' Hall as it was in 1789 is shown in Barrett's *History of Bristol,* p. 516.

In the Bristol volume of the Archæological Institute, 1851, it is stated that Marsh Street terminated with a gate, and attached was the Chapel of St. Martin, near the site of the present Merchants' Hall.

I can find no other reference to this Chapel of St. Martin, but in Millerd's "Exact Delineation of the famous cittie of Bristol, 1671," is shown what appears to be a chapel close to Marsh Street Gate, and another a little farther to the north-east. Neither of these occurs in his larger "delineations" of 1673. Unfortunately, our old friend William Wyrcestre died some nine years before the date of St. Clement's Chapel, or we should no doubt have had his usual description; but he mentions the chapel founded by Richard le Spicer, and dedicated in honour of St. George "*et est fraternitas dignissima mercatorum et marinariorum Bristolliæ dictæ capellæ pertinencia,*" no doubt the guild to which the Merchant Venturers succeeded. But Leland was living and perambulating the streets of Bristol, yet he says nothing of this Chapel of St. Clement.

[1] The smallest bell in the Cathedral tower bears the inscription: "Sancte Clement ora pro nobis." It dates from the time of Abbot Newland, who died in 1486.

Stephen Forster, merchant, by his will, Sept. 16th, 1508, leaves "To the Chapel of Seynt Clement set beside the Marsshe in Bristowe, two measures of woad."

The recent discovery in the basement of the Merchants' Hall of the remains of this chapel comes to us in happy confirmation of documentary history.

The ancient masonry is clearly to be traced on the north, south, and east sides. On the north side are the remains of a large four-light window, the mullions and jambs having distinctly fifteenth-century mouldings, the exterior moulding of the jamb being a wide hollow. It will be remembered that the view on Millerd's map shows the building with four-light windows.

Built up in the south wall were fragments of tracery of a window, also of this date. At the east end on each side of the altar is a sixteenth-century doorway, that to the south having a fine door of Jacobean date strapped with iron.

This arrangement of doors at the east end is of common occurrence at this period, as at Bath Abbey and St. John's Church, Bristol. It was doubtless resorted to here for the entrance of the members to their hall.

The present windows on the south side are modern. It is likely that they are in the same position as the older ones shown in Millerd's map.

We may surmise that in this chapel (then newly erected) John and Sebastian Cabot may have worshipped before setting sail in the *Matthew* for the discovery of America; and Richard Hakluyt, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral, must have taken part in the discussions in this hall (no longer a chapel) in 1602–3, which, supported by Aldermen Aldworth and Whitson, resulted in the dispatch of the *Speedwell* for the exploration of "Northern Virginia." Mr. Latimer says that Hakluyt "appears to have been the chief promoter of this enterprise."

We are indebted to Mr. Walter S. Paul, A.R.I.B.A., for the drawings and ground plan of this chapel.

CHAPEL OF THE GUILD OF MERCHANT TAILORS.[1]

This guild, the largest and richest in the town, whose patron saint was St. John the Baptist—perhaps from the Scriptural reference to his "raiment"—had allotted to them the southern aisle of the parish church of St. Audoen (Ouen) as their chapel, and this was dedicated to their patron saint. There were two altars in this chapel, dedicated to St. Catherine and St. Margaret. The foundation of the guild and chapel is due to a charter granted by Richard II. (1398) to found a "chapel for a chaplain to celebrate divine service for the good estate of the king and queen whilst alive, and for their souls when departed, and for the fraternity here perpetually founded and incorporated."

Wyrcestre calls the society "fraternitas Magnifica." The old chapel was granted in 1551 (4 Edward VI.) to the Corporation, and in the following year a council house, a predecessor of the present one, was built on its site. That the chapel was considered to be distinct from the parish church is shown by the fact that the church itself remained standing until about 1820. In the Chantry Certificates (2 Edward VI.) the plate and jewels of this chapel were reckoned as thirty-four ounces, and valued at twenty-eight shillings. "Ornaments to the same apperteynyng valued at Four pounds."

The seal of the guild is engraved in *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 269. It is circular, with the saint holding the Agnus Dei standing in the centre. The legend is:

"Sigillu × come × fratnitatis × scti × Johannis × Bapti × Bristoll."

THE WEAVERS' CHAPEL.

A parallel case to this chapel of the Merchant Tailors is that of the Weavers at the east end of the north aisle of Temple Church. License was granted for this chapel 16 Ric. II. (1392). The chapel was dedicated to St. Catherine. Some stained

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 97, 113, 144. *Barrett*, p. 476. Evans's *Chronicle*, p. 143. Arch. Institute Bristol vol., p. 120. Latimer's *Eighteenth Century*, pp. 470, 496. *Trans B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, p. 248.

glass, notably a figure of St. Catherine, and another of a priest kneeling, with the inscription, "Virgo Katarine p. me precor. ora," has been described and drawn in the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. vi. The weaver's shuttle is shown by the side of the saint, and is engraved on slabs in the floor over the remains of departed members.

CHAPEL OF ST. MARTIN.[1] (In the Castle.)

The first reference to this is in an order from Henry III., August 28th, 1250, dated at Berkeley, in which, besides provisions for windows and a royal seat in the hall, he directs that "glass windows be made in the Chapel of St. Martin, and lengthen three of the windows of the same chapel, to wit, two in the chancel and one in the nave, that it may be better lighted, and let it be whitewashed throughout." It was in existence before 1287, for in the Pleas of the Crown of that year it is recorded that Philip le Noble had owned himself a robber, and abjured the kingdom in the Church of St. Martin.[2]

Wyrcestre describes this chapel as in the outer ward, or the first ward, and dedicated to St. Martin, also in devotion of St. John the Baptist, and he says that a monk of the Priory of St. James ought to celebrate every day, although he only does so on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. Henry III. in the order above directs that "glass windows be made in the *other chapel*, and that a door be made in the chancel towards the *Hermitage* (Reclusorium). In that hermitage make an altar to St. Edward, and in the turret over that hermitage make a chamber for the clerks with appurtenances . . . and find the wages of a certain chaplain to celebrate divine service in the chapel of our tower there, all the days of our life for Eleanor of Brittany our cousin, to wit fifty shillings per annum."[3]

The princess had died in 1241 after a captivity of forty years. To whom was this other chapel dedicated? Wyrcestre says that there is another "magnificient" chapel for the king

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 156, 157. [2] *Transactions*, vol. xxii., p. 169.

[3] Liberate Roll, 34 Henry III., copied in Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture*, p. 225.

and his lords and ladies situate in the principal ward on the north side of the hall, where the beautiful chambers are built, but in his time they were ruinous, being void of floors and roofs, "vacuæ deplanchers et copertura."

It is interesting to remember that the two chambers now existing in Tower Street, and supposed to be the entrance respectively to the royal chapel and banqueting hall, are of the style of architecture of the reign of this king. Leland only speaks of the castle as having "a praty churche."

Barrett, on the dubious authority of a "vellum manuscript by Rowlie," speaks of St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, near Ælle Gate, or New Gate.

This may be the chapel mentioned by Leland as being over Newgate. "In the utar waull by the Castle, a *chapelle over it.* It is the prison of the citie." The figures which occupied niches on this gate have at various times been ascribed to Ælle and Coernicus, wardens of the castle, and later to the Consul Robert, the builder of the castle, and to Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances. These were taken down in 1766 and set up on a gateway in grounds at Arno's Vale. They have recently been acquired by the city, and are now at the Museum and Art Gallery, where careful examination has revealed them, on the authority of Mr. St. John Hope, to be two of the three Kings of Cologne, one presenting a casket of gold and the other a cup of myrrh. What has become of the third is not known, but as this would be kneeling before the Virgin and Child, it would be considered superstitious, and was no doubt destroyed. Representations of these statues are given in the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 1907-8, vol. vi., p. 203

CHAPEL OF THE HOLY TRINITY.[1]

Barstaple's Hospital, Old Market Street.

This almshouse, founded by John Barstaple, merchant, three times Mayor of Bristol (1396, 1402, 1406), is referred to

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 75, 90, 99, 116, 149. Illustrations of Brasses, *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 116.

several times by William Wyrcestre. He tells us that Barstaple's son, Nicholas Barstaple, was the first master (Presbiter Magister) of this house founded and built for thirteen poor men, "in veteri mercato anglice Old Market." John Barstaple, *ob.* 1411, and his wife Isabella are buried in the chapel, and two brasses with the inscriptions usual to this period mark the spot. The will of Isabella Barstaple is given in *Bristol Wills*, p. 86. It is dated March 2nd, 1411, and was proved in the following year. She desires to be buried in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, "jux portam Laffard," before the image of the Holy Trinity, and it will be noticed that the symbol of the Trinity, the trefoil, occurs on both brasses. Among her bequests is clothing to her son, Sir Nicholas, chaplain, and ten marks to Sir William Rijs, chaplain, to celebrate for her soul and her late husband's. The son, Sir Nicholas, gets also the best silver bowl with a cover, the best bed, &c.

Manchee (*Bristol Charities*) says that the charter, in the possession of the Corporation, founding the hospital is in a very bad state and partly obliterated. In an appendix, vol. i., p. 500, he gives (as far as he can) a copy. It appears to be a confirmation by Henry V., in the fourth year of his reign, of a grant made by his father, Henry IV., to establish the fraternity and guild in honour of the Holy Trinity and St. George. The hospital almshouse was to be erected "in a certain void place in the suburbs of Bristol, for the situation and wholesomeness of the air." The fraternity was to consist of brethren and sisters. Provision was made for divine service, by prayers and preaching, two chaplains being appointed, each of whom was to be master and guardian of the fraternity or guild.

The original building has been twice replaced by other erections, and when Mr. George Pryce wrote his *History of Bristol*, 1861, the brasses of the founders were "at the office of the Charity Trustees, awaiting the re-building of the chapel of the institution."

CHAPEL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.[1]

"St. Sprite's Chapell in Radclif Church Yard."—LELAND.

William Wyrcestre mentions it as "Capella antiquissima," and as a decent chapel on the south side of Redcliffe Church. In seeming justification of Wyrcestre's statement as to its antiquity, Leland says: "This was a paroche before the buyldinge of Radclyfe grete new churche," though no documentary evidence exists in confirmation of this. It is certain, however, that this chapel was built by Henry Tessun, Precentor of Wells, Canon of Sarum, and Prebendary of Bedminster, "at his own expense." The Rev. C. S. Taylor gives the dates of Tessun's preferments as from 1226 to 1247. He died in 1254, so that we may conclude his building was erected in the best and purest style of English Gothic Art.

Barrett speaks of it as belonging to the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, "contiguous to the west end of the church," and dedicated to the Holy Spirit; but in 1383 a grant was made by the master and friars to the fraternity of the Holy Ghost, by which they enjoyed the use of this chapel. It stood so near the church as partially to hide the western view, and was accordingly taken down in 1763. It may have owed its preservation up to this time to its having been used as a grammar school since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. On its destruction the school was removed to the Lady Chapel, where it continued until quite recent times. In the wall under the west window was found a stone coffin with a figure of a priest carved in low relief on the lid, and beneath the words, "Johes Lavyngton."[2] He is said to have been a chaplain of this fraternity, 1393. This figure is now in the church, on the floor of the tower, and is the only relic left of this edifice. The chapel is shown on Millerd's large bird's-eye view of "The Citty of Bristoll," *c.* 1673, very near the south-west of the church. Four tall windows are shown, with

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 116, 143. Leland, *Itin.*, vol. v., p. 93. Latimer, *Eighteenth Century*. *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. ii., p. 197.

[2] Figured in *Bristol Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 206.

gables above them in the roof. The position suggests the idea of a mortuary chapel, so familiar to travellers in the Rhone Valley, and the dedication to the "Lord and Giver of life" would be very appropriate.[1]

CHAPEL IN ST. JAMES'S CHURCHYARD.[2]

Another churchyard chapel was brought to light in the summer of 1894, by the demolition of the White Lion Inn at the junction of Bridewell Street and Silver Street. On clearing the ground a tiled pavement was discovered which identifies the position of a chapel thus quaintly referred to by William Wyrcestre: "Memorandum quod in cimeterio Sancti Jacobi, quasi versus fratres Sancti Francisci, capella pulchra quadrangula totum de frestone fundata tam in coopertura tecti quam fenestris, et continet ex quolibet latere capellæ 18 pedes quadrates cum 8 boterasses." (Memorandum that in the churchyard of St. James, going towards the Franciscan Friary, a fair chapel, quadrangular, all built of freestone as well as in the covering of the roof as in the windows; and it contains on either side of the chapel 18 feet square, with 8 buttresses.)

This reference to the roof suggests a span roof of stone, as in the south transept of Minchinhampton, or a barrel vault as at Ewenny and St. Catherine's Chapel, Abbotsbury. The tile pavement mentioned above was unfortunately broken up before a plan could be taken, and the tiles were sold to a dealer and removed to London. They were about seventy-five in number, apparently of the fourteenth or early part of the fifteenth century, and have been described in the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iii., p. 95. One tile has a cross patonce between five martlets, the shield of Edward the Confessor, and as Richard II. adopted this shield as his own, thus reviving the cult of the royal saint, it would

[1] For Henry Tessun's benefactions, see Wells Cathedral Manuscripts, *Hist. Comm.*, p. 173.

[2] *Itinerary*, Thos. Hearne, Ed., vol. ii., p. 79.

fix the date of the tile at the latter part of the fourteenth century, which agrees very well with its character.

There is no evidence as to the dedication of this chapel, but Leland refers to Robert the Consul having built the Castle of Bristol, and that he gave every tenth stone to the fabric of the *Chapel of St. Mary, near the monastery of St. James, Bristol* (juxta monas. S. Jacobi, Bristolliæ).

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.[1]

(Christmas Steps.)

Though nothing is known of the foundation of this house, which in 1275 contained a society of brethren and sisters, it was considered in early times to owe its origin to the De la Warre family, as shown by a deed dated 1386. Wyrcestre measured the chapel, and reported it as containing in length "18 virgas vel 32 gressus," about 50 or 60 feet. He says it was formerly a priory of Regular Canons founded by the ancestors of the Lord De la Warre. In the *Little Red Book of Bristol* are drawn up "the ordinances for the masters and mariners of ships belonging to Bristol, chiefly in connection with a fraternity for the mariners."[2]

"In primis that the seyd place and ffraternite moghte be had and holden within the house other hospytall of Seynt Bartholomewe of Bristowe by licence of the maister of the seyd hospytall other of hys Depute for the tyme being." No doubt the chapel of the fraternity was that Chapel of St. Clement within the Bartholomew's in which Ricart tells us that the mayor and his brethren were accustomed to attend evensong on St. Clement's Eve, and to hear Mass and make their offering on the festival of the saint. Provision is made for the due attendance at the feasts of the church. "Item that every Mayster and Mariner that longeth to the seyd porte at every ffeste of Corpus Christie be ready in hys best araye to go in procession with the lytht of the seyd crafte durying the seyd

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 88, 151. *Ricart*, p. 80.
[2] Vol. ii., p. 188.

procession in the worschup of God, of the Holy Sacramen, oure lady Seint Mary, and alle the holy compayne of Hevyn." This was in 1445.

In 1531 Lord De La Warre sold the place to Robert Thorn, to establish a free grammar school subject to certain conditions, one being that a solemn obit be kept yearly on the 11th October, at the Bartholomews, to pray for the soul of the Lord De la Warre, and for the souls of his ancestors. Nothing remains of this house but the well-known entrance gateway, with its beautiful arcading of the thirteenth century.

LEPER HOSPITAL OF ST. LAURENCE, KINGSWOOD.

There is but a meagre reference to the chapel of this house, and this is by William Wyrcestre, who speaks of it as a beautiful church (pulchra ecclesia) in honour of St. Laurence. He says the distance from the exterior of "Laffordys-yate" is 1,200 gressus (800 yards), or a little less than half a mile.

It was a royal foundation, being endowed by King John when Earl of Mortain, and confirmed by charter in 1208.

In 1465 Edward IV. granted it to the Dean and Chapter of Westbury to increase the endowment, who in acknowledgment were in 1535 paying a salary of £2 to a priest to celebrate Mass in the chapel.

HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.
(Redcliffe Pit.)

This religious house, consisting of "brethren and sisteren" ruled by a procurator, stood on the river Avon, and is described as being opposite the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe. It was in existence before 1287, for in the Pleas of the Crown of that year it is recorded that John le Tanur had owned himself a robber and abjured the kingdom in the Church of St. John de la Redeclyve.[1] Wyrcestre gives the length of the "aula" as 21 gressus (42 feet), and the breadth 13 gressus (26 feet) This, both in length and width, is half the size of the church of

1 *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxii., p. 159.

the hospital of the Gaunts. The "aula" here mentioned was the hall in which the sick lay, as usual in mediæval hospitals, with a chapel beyond for divine worship. The cloister was about 60 feet each way, and with its four-square conduit of standing water in the centre would form a pleasant place for the recreation of poor patients. That it was an important place is shown by the fact that Henry VI. lodged here with his Queen on his visit to Bristol in 1446. William Canynge, the second, bequeathed "a pair of vestments of red damask, for the use of the hospital of St. John Baptist, in Redcliff putte, forever."

There are two seals extant, a very fine one of the thirteenth century (described and figured in *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. v., p. 2), and another of the fifteenth century (vol. iii., p. 13). In connection with this was a hermitage "in rubeo clivi super aquam avonæ, anglice Avyn." It still exists, cut out of the solid rock, with its original pointed entrance.

NUNNERY OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE.[1]

This was situated at the foot of St. Michael's Hill, where the King David Inn now stands. It was founded in 1173 by Eva, the first prioress, wife of Robert Fitzharding, with whom she was buried in the Abbey of St. Augustine, the church of his creation. Wyrcestre speaks of it twice as a small house, consisting only of three nuns who had taken the vows of poverty, and again as that of religious novices, which would bring up the sisterhood to a respectable number. Mr. Dallaway says that the daughters of the principal inhabitants received their education here. The chapel was about 54 feet long, with a chancel, and it had a nave and three aisles with four arches. Barrett gives a list of the prioresses and other particulars, and an account of the visitation of Bishop Giffard, of Worcester, in 1284, when he rebuked the Vicar of St. Michael for withholding from the nuns, for three years, two shillings and two pounds of pepper and cummin yearly, and restitution was duly ordered.

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 77, 131, 151.

He also preached here, and the text is recorded: "Filiæ tibi sunt? Serva corpus illarum" (*Ecclus.* vii. 24). The house was sold in 1540 to Henry Brayne, merchant-tailor of London.

THE CHAPEL OF THE THREE KINGS OF COLEYN.

This chapel, with its picturesque dedication, is not mentioned by Wyrcestre, for he died a few years before it was built. Leland, who wrote about 1540, calls it "Fanum 3^{m} regum juxta Barptolomeawes extra Fromegate." John Foster, by will dated August 6th, 1492, directed that his executors should find a priest to sing daily in the chapel of his almshouse in Stepe Street, for twelve years after his decease for his soul and the soul of his relations. John Esterfield, merchant, one of the executors in a deed of trust (1507) recites that John Foster, late merchant of Bristol and sometime mayor, of his good and virtuous mind, builded a chapel in the honour of God and the Three Kings of Coleyn, with an almshouse thereto annexed, containing 14 chambers with 14 gardens, for a priest, 8 poor men and 5 poor women therein to dwell, called Foster's Almshouse, situate at the north-west end of Stepe Street in the parish of St. Michael. The accounts of the house were to be rendered in writing in the said chapel on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Martin, and the priest was on that day and at the times as directed to say prayers, yearly for ever, and at the end of the "diriges" therein directed to be made, 7d. was to be distributed to the said poor men and women in money or in bread, and that, if the mayor and town clerk attended the account and gave "good advice and counsel," the said mayor to have for his labour 5s. and the town clerk 20d.[1]

The Commissioners appointed by Edward VI. reported that the chapel, by virtue of its purposes "for the helpynge relief and comforte of a certeyn nomber of poore people there to contynue and have their livinge from tyme to tyme for ever, is without the compasse of the statute and the King's Majestie not entitled thereunto by fforce of the same."

[1] Manchee, *Bristol Charities*, vol. i., p. 80.

The chapel, which forms so picturesque an object at the top of Christmas Steps, is a fair specimen of the style of architecture prevalent at the end of the fifteenth century. Its eastern window, looking over the steps and above the seventeenth-century sedilia (which may have replaced an earlier erection), is of four lights, and the only other window is one of three lights on the north side. Its western front is beautified by three important canopied niches, one over the doorway and one on each side, no doubt intended to receive the figures of the Three Kings, though how much of this is original or how much is the creation of the restoring architect it is difficult to say. The interior is in good condition, and divine service is held here on Monday evenings, the inmates of the almshouse attending the parish church, or such other places as they may choose, on the Sunday. That it has been well cared for in times past is shown by a well-proportioned brass chandelier, bearing the inscription: "The gift of Sr. John Duddlestone, Baronett, 1692." He was a merchant largely interested in the tobacco trade, and had been created a baronet in the preceding year. He was a Whig and a Dissenter, and Mr. Latimer considers it probable that he was sent to Kingsweston to offer the respectful homage of the citizens of similar sentiments to William III., on his landing there on his return from the Battle of the Boyne, when this honour was conferred on him. In a recent restoration tiles have been placed in the pavement with the initials of the Kings—Melchior, Gasper and Balthazar—crowned, and with sceptres at the angles. The poor in the almshouse of the "Three Kings of Culleine" were remembered in the wills of John Esterfield, 1504, and William Carr, 1574.

It has been suggested that Foster, the Bristol merchant, may have travelled to Cologne, and there received the inspiration which prompted him to raise this chapel in their honour. It appears to be an unique dedication in England, a fact of which Bristolians may be proud. I am indebted to Miss Rotha Clay for the following from *Vetusta Testamenta* (Nicolas):—

"In the will of Theobald Evyas, Widow, she leaves 'To the sepulture of the 3 Kings of Cologne my ring of gold with the rubie.'"

ST. MATTHIAS.

This is mentioned in the Bristol volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 138, as being in Bridge Street "on the site now occupied by the Freemasons' Hall." The writer gives Leland as his authority, but I cannot trace the passage. From notes in Evans's *Chronological Outline* it seems to rest on Chatterton's writing, and to be absolutely worthless. Evans places the chapel in Canynges' house in Redcliffe Street.[1]

ST. JORDAN.

The earliest record I can find of this chapel is by Leland: "S. Augustines, Blak Chanons extra mænia, ibique in magna area sacellum, in quo sepultus est S. Jordanus, unus ex discipulis Augustini Anglorum Apostoli."[2]

This must have been within the sanctuary which, from William Wyrcestre's description, was of large extent, and included nearly the whole of the present green.

We have seen that there was a shrine of St. Clement adjacent to this chapel, and in 1491-2 twelve persons claimed sanctuary, each of whom paid 4d. for the insertion of his name in the sacrist's book.

THE GAUNTS.

The history of this chapel is so familiar to us through the admirable volume on *St. Mark's, or the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol*, by Alderman W. R. Barker, that any comment here is needless.

ST. BRENDAN.[3]

Wyrcestre took special pains with this chapel, counting the steps (840), beginning at the end of Frog Lane to the Church of the Mount of "Sancti Brandini." Also he says that the

[1] Evans, p. 105. [2] Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. v., p. 64.
[3] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 129, 131, 150. Evans's *Chronicle*, pp. 86, 98, 148.

hermit there told him that "sailors and discreet men" declared that the chapel was higher than any spire either of Radclyf or of any other church by 18 fathoms of height. The length of the chapel was 8½ virgas (about 25 feet), and the width 5 virgas (15 feet). It was surrounded by a wall, the circuit of which measured 180 steps (360 feet). He also says that this chapel of the hermit—"super montem altissimum Sancti Brendani"—belonged to the Priory of St. James and the mount is supposed to represent Mount Calvary, near Jerusalem. The chapel was in existence about 1193, when Henry, Bishop of Worcester, confirmed to St. James's Priory, among other churches, that of St. Brendan without the Town.[1] Mr. Dallaway says that the Irish and Spanish sailors were bound to hear Mass and to present offerings at the Chapels of St. Vincent and St. Brendan when they came into harbour. From the inaccessibility of the former, we may assume that the Chapel of St. Brendan would be the more favoured resort, and certainly with the Irish, for he was an abbot of their own country. His anniversary falls on May 16th, and he is shown in art with a blackbird on his wrist. In 1351 Lucy de Newchirche offered herself to the Bishop of Worcester to be shut up in the hermitage of St. Brendan of Bristol, being desirous to quit the world; and having satisfied the bishop as to her conduct and purity of life, leave was granted to her on the 7th May. On August 14th, 1403, forty days of indulgence were granted by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, to all benefactors of the Chapel of St. Brendan, and to Reginald Taillor, the poor hermit there, by his letters for one year only to continue.

Leland (*c.* 1542) speaks of it as "now defacyd on Brandon Hill, a quarter of a myle by west of the Gaunts," and in 1565 this small foundation was, like others, entirely swept away, and Mr. Read, the Town Clerk, erected a windmill in its place. On excavating for the foundations of the Cabot Tower, parts of walls were found below the surface, which Dr. Alfred Fryer

1 Dugdale, *Mon.*, vol. ii., p. 75.

considered to be the remains of this chapel, and skeletons which he presumed to be some "of the poor hermits who once occupied the hermitage."

HERMITAGE CHAPEL OF ST. VINCENT.[1]

Of all the most unlikely and inaccessible places for a chapel, surely none could compete with this, high up in the precipitous Ghyston Cliff, known to us from our childhood as the Giant's Cave. Wyrcestre is more than usually diffuse in his description, making many references, and even recording the date of his visit: "Sunday 26th September, in anno Christi 1480."[2] "The Halle of the Chapell of Seynt Vincent of Ghyston clyff ys IX yerdes long and the brede is 3 yerdes." He also speaks of the kitchen as 3 yards broad, but does not fill in the length, which he perhaps intended doing at a subsequent visit. "From the Chapel of Seynt Vyncent ys to the lower water 40 vethym [240 feet], and from the ovyr part of the mayn grounde londe of the seyd hygh rok downe to the seyd chapelle of Seynt Vyncent been XX vethym rekened and proved; and so from the hygh mayne ferme londe of the seyd rok downe to the lowest water ground of the channel of Avyn and Frome is 60 vethym [360 feet] and much more, proved by a yong man of Smythy's occupacion yn Radclyffe Strete that seyde yt to me, hath both descended from the hyghest of the rok down to the water syde." His measurement is fairly correct, though he overstates the total height, and the distance from the ground above to the cave below is only about 60 feet. It has been suggested that the area of this cave (which is also called Fox Hole) is not large enough for such purposes of devotion, and that there may have been a projecting ledge of rock at that time which has since been destroyed.

Within recent times adventurous people could find a path down to the cave, and it is evident that there must have been

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 47, 53, 54, 55, 150, 162. *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 248. *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. v., p. 70.

[2] September 26th fell on a Tuesday in 1480.

a path, for Wyrcestre speaks of his *ascending* from the chapel to the high land. He calls it a hermitage with a chapel "in rupe periculossima."

The path must have been far better than the present state of the rock would lead us to suppose, for Wyrcestre was at this time sixty-five years old, which is not generally considered a favourable age for rock-climbing. In 1804 the cave was occupied by a gang of robbers, and access was gained by a ledge along the face of the cliff. Some colour is given to the locality of the chapel by the fact that a glazed encaustic tile and the fragment of a small Gothic window were found here some time since on the removal of some rubbish.

In 1492 an indulgence was granted for relief of Thomas Dene warden of chapel on Gyston Clyf in Clyfton.[1]

ST. MARY MAGDALEN, BRIGHTBOW.[2]

Wyrcestre, walking along the way beginning at the west end of the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliffe, going on by the way leading to Trene Mills, came to the Hospital of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, on the right hand towards the Bridge of Brightbow. With his inveterate habit of counting, he says that to the cross and chapel of the said hospital he had walked 300 steps, and that from the hospital to Brightbow Bridge, where the liberty of Bristol ends, was another 230 steps, so that in all he counted 530 steps. Further on he says that the chapel anciently founded with the hospital for leprous women is situated in the north towards the Bridge of Brightbow, beyond the house of the chaplains of William Canynges, and beyond the way leading to the mill called "Tremyllis," in another part of the cemetery of Bedminster.

As to the date of the foundation of the hospital, I am indebted to our member, Mr. Hudd, for calling my attention to the preface to the volume of *Sarum Charters and Documents*, in

[1] Ely Episcopal Register.

[2] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 83, 84, 85, 149. *Sarum Charters and Documents*, Rolls Series, p. 172.

which the editor quotes a grant by Gilbert de Lacy, Prebendary of Bedminster, of a chantry chapel for the hospital for leprous women at Bristol (*c.* 1226), reserving the rights of the mother church of Bedminster. The inmates are by this grant permitted to have a chaplain and chantry, but under such strict regulations as to the non-admission of outsiders to their chapel as show that no fear of contagion and no feeling of repugnance were likely of themselves to suffice to keep persons from desiring admittance. Only handbells were to be used, and these were not to be hung. A beautiful seal of the house is figured on Plate 2, *Proceedings Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iii. It represents the saint standing under a richly crocketed niche pierced with trefoliated tracery. In her right hand she holds a tall ointment box, to which she points with the left hand. The legend is in black letter, fifteenth-century characters: "S. Hospetal Marie Magdalene. Bristoll. IX Britbow."

ST. KATERINE, BRIGHTBOW.[1]

Wyrcestre refers to this hospital incidentally when he speaks of the Bridge of Brightbow, as being opposite the Church of the Hospital, and again as the "free chapel of the Hospital of St. Katerine," and as the "Hospital in the Church where Master Abyndon, musician of the King's Chapel, is Master." Later on, as if by second thought, he gives the dimensions: "Longitudo navis ecclesiæ Sanctæ Katerine prope Bristoll, continet 16 virgas. Latitudo ejus continet 7 virgas cum dimidis. Longitudo cancellæ 9 virgas. Latitudo ejus 5 virgas cum dimidio."[2] The total length, therefore, would be 75 feet. Collinson, writing 1791, says that nothing remains of the chapel but the blocked-up east window.

Lord Robert of Berkeley, the second of that name (1189—1220), was the founder, as is recorded in the manuscript by Abbot Newland at Berkeley Castle.

[1] *William Wyrcestre* (Dallaway), pp. 84, 149; (Nasmyth), p. 294. Smith's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 89.

[2] Nasmyth Edition, p. 294.

The cross-legged effigy in the north transept of St. Mary Redcliffe is said to have been removed there from St. Catherine's Chapel, and Pryce in his *History of Bristol* suggests that it may have been that of Lord Robert. We know that he was buried over against the high altar "at St. Augustine's Abbey," but Miss Roper says[1] that it was customary for the effigy of a founder to be placed in such hospitals notwithstanding the body being buried elsewhere.

The editor of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society attributes it to Robert de Were, third son of Robert Fitzharding. He died 1229. So that the military costume would suit either.

An elaborate paper by Mr. Hudd[2] gives full particulars of the masters from 1324 to 1548. The office was not always held by a priest, certainly two in the sixteenth century were laymen. The brethren wore a St. Catherine's Wheel worked in cloth on the left shoulder. A seal of the fifteenth century is figured in *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iii., plate 2, and notice of this and an earlier seal is given on page 12.

In a note by Mr. Latimer it is stated that the hospital was not suppressed, for masters continued to be appointed by the Crown until 1664.

ST. ANNE IN THE WOOD, BRISLINGTON.[3]

> "A two miles above Bristowe was a common trajectus by bote, where was a Chapelle of S. Anne, on the same side of Avon that Bath standith on, and heere was great pilgrimage to S. Anne."—LELAND.

Though the last on our list, this pilgrimage chapel had far more than a local reputation, sharing even with Our Lady of Walsingham the devotion of the faithful. In the spring of 1486 Henry VII. visited Bristol, and after being received at St. Augustine's Abbey "on the morn when the King had dined, he rode on pilgrimage to St. Anne's in the Wood."

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 52.

[2] *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. i.

[3] *Wyrcester*, pp. 61, 62, 63. *Journ. Arch. Soc.*, 1875, p. 204.

And sixteen years later (August 22nd, 1502) he revisited the shrine, this time in company with his Queen, who made an offering of two shillings and sixpence.

The Duke of Buckingham (Bounteous Buckingham) was more generous, as his diary records: "My Lord's and my young Lady's oblation to St. Anne in the Wood, 7s. 4d."

Maud Esterfield, by will dated July 21st, 1491, leaves "a ring of gold to the use of the Chapel of St. Anne by Bristol, Co. Somerset."[1]

Wyrcestre was very much impressed with the chapel and its contents. He tells us that it was founded by "a certain Lord De le Warr." This was very likely the lord who founded the Hospital of St. Bartholomew. The Manor of Brislington was held by the De la Warre family from the reign of King John to that of Henry VI.[2] From Wyrcestre's measurement we learn that the length of the chapel was 19 virgas (57 feet), the breadth 15 feet, and that there were nineteen buttresses round the chapel. If the height of the chapel was anything like that which Wyrcestre leads us to suppose it would need all these buttresses to support it. There were two square wax candles reaching to the height of the vault, eighty feet; one of which was the gift of the Guild of Weavers, and the other of the Guild of Shoemakers. The candles themselves were ten inches in height and eight inches in thickness, and they were renewed yearly against the Day of Pentecost. Each candle cost £5, "and so the two aforesaid wax candles cost £10." Surely from the height and cost recorded, Wyrcestre must have meant to include the pedestals on which these candles stood, but even this seems an incredible solution of the difficulty. And there were in the said chapel thirty-two ships and boats, five of which were of silver of the value of twenty shillings each. These were no doubt the offerings of mariners. And before the image of St. Anne are thirteen square wax candles.

The site of the chapel is now only matter of conjecture. In 1899 I visited the wood with some friends, and the Vicar

[1] *Bristol Wills*, p. 177. [2] *Collinson*, vol. ii., p. 412.

of Brislington pointed out a spot where he had excavated and revealed a wall of semi-circular plan resembling the foundations of an apse. Unfortunately, however, it faced the west instead of the east. I also have a tracing of the fragment of a tile, of thirteenth-century character, found on this spot. The only personal association comes to us from a sepulchral slab found on the site of Keynsham Abbey, to which the chapel belonged. It bore the following inscription: "Hic . jacet . Walterus . Joie . Canonicus . nuper . custos . capelle . sancte . Anne . in . the . wode . cujus . anima . propicietur . altissimus . Amen." Another inscription has "Sancte Anne in Silva."

Wyrcestre refers [1] to a Chapel of the Holy Cross on "Thyrdam doune" towards the College of Westbury. Its length was 9 virgas (27 feet) and breadth 15 feet.

In a paper on "The Manorial History of Clifton,"[2] the author describes the boundary at a certain spot indicated by a remarkable hawthorne, and thence to a merestone between the *Chapel of St. Lambert* and the King's highway. This chapel must have stood not far from the Black Boy Inn at Redland.

There was a chapel in the parish of Temple dedicated to St. Mary, for the Will of Reginald Taillour was proved January 7th, 1398, "in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary outside the entrance of the Parish Church of Temple."[3]

Mr. Richard C. Tuckett sends me the following notices of a chapel dedicated to St. Anthony:—

Wadley's *Abstract of the Bristol Wills*, p. 158: "No. 263.—Will of Robert Hynde Goldsmith and Burgess, dated 17th May, 1476. Legacy to 'the fabric of the Chapel of St. Anthony opposite the Chapel of St. Anne.'"

[1] (Dallaway), p. 78.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 214.

[3] Wadley, *Bristol Wills*, p. 55.

Paterson's *Road Book*, 1824, p. 110. Route, London to Bristol: "ST. GEORGE.—This place may be deemed a suburb to Bristol; it contains a good modern church, with a large square tower, 72 feet high, at its west end. On a hill near the turnpike gate leading to Crow's Hole, is a small house that was formerly a Romish Chapel, and still retains the name of St. Anthony's Chapel."

When we look down upon our city from a height, such as Wyrcestre calls the "Mount of St. Michael," we realise with pride that Bristol is justly called the City of Churches, but after our long walk with our old friend we can see how much we have lost. If we had stood with him or with Leland we should have seen the eighteen churches which the latter recounts, of which St. Ewen, St. Lawrence, St. Leonard, St. Giles, and St. Werburgh, have all disappeared, though the last named has been re-erected in the suburbs.

Of the many monasteries, only two remain, the Abbey of St. Augustine and the Priory of St. James. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites and the Austin Friars have all vanished. Of the twenty-five chapels we have been considering only those of the Weavers, the Hospital of the Gaunts, Barstaple, and the Three Kings remain, while the relics of St. Clement's have only recently been brought to light.

One cannot but be struck with the immense care with which the townsfolk provided for religious observances under all circumstances, and which they enforced with all their might. Mass at five in the morning for artificers and ordinary sailors at Knapp's Chapel on the Back, special services for Irish sailors at St. Brendan's, for Spanish sailors at St. Vincent's, and for those who coasted in the Bristol Channel at the Chapel of St. Blaize, were made compulsory at a time when it was customary

"To force all people though against their consciences to turn saints,"

while heavy fines were inflicted on mariners who failed to walk in procession in their "best arraye" on the Feast of Corpus Christi.[1]

[1] *Little Red Book of Bristol*, p. 188.

But it was not the common people only who were looked after in this paternal manner; the burgesses themselves, even the mayor and council, were subject to similar regulations. On All Hallowe'en Day (November 1st), after dinner, they were to assemble at the Tolzey, thence go to All Hallowe'en Church, there to offer, and after unto the mayor's place, "there to have their fires and their drinkings with spiced cakebread and sundry wines, the cups merrily serving about the house, and then from thence every man departing unto his parish church to evensong." The next day, All Souls' Day (November 2nd), the mayor and town clerk were to go to Redcliffe Church. On St. Clement's Even they were to go to St. Clement's Chapel within the Bartholomews, there to hear their evensong, and on the morrow their Mass, and to offer there; and on St. Catherine's Even (November 24th) they were to walk to St. Catherine's Chapel within Temple Church, there to hear their evensong, with the accustomed cakes and wines in the hall afterwards. And the next day they were to hear Mass and offer. On St. Nicholas Day (December 6th) they were to hear Mass at St. Nicholas Church, and hear the bishop's sermon, and after dinner the mayor and sheriff and their brethren to play at dice until the bishop came, and then he and his "chapell" were served with bread and wine, and so departed to St. Nicholas Church to hear the bishop's evensong.[1]

Disclaiming all pretence to original research, my object has been to collect the scattered records and traditions of these vanished sanctuaries, and to "gather up the fragments" (if only of memory) "that remain, that nothing be lost."

[1] *Ricart's Calendar*, pp. 79, 80.

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1907.[1]

VIII.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

"Original notes which if recorded become future history."

"THE strong necessity of every member battling and trying to prevent, if possible, the further demolition of local archæological relics" formed the keynote, and certainly marked the attitude of Bristol members generally, during 1907.

And, I think, it can be claimed that we, as a Society, at this end, have achieved a notable success in another way, for, as the result of pressure brought to bear,[2] the establishment of an

ARCHITECTURAL COURT

at the Museum and Art Gallery has been accomplished; and by this means we have secured provision for the future housing of the larger type of local relics, which—through the exigencies of modern progress—cannot be retained *in situ*.

In the last annual report[3] of the Bristol Museum, issued in December, the recognition of our request is shown by the adoption of that designation, followed by this explanation, that "in the absence of adequate space in the Museum of Antiquities for the exhibition of large specimens of local architecture, which are continually being removed from old buildings in Bristol, a suitable room in the basement has been

[1] Read at the Bristol evening meeting, January 22nd, 1908.

[2] See *Trans.*, vol. xxvi., p. 143; vol. xxvii., p. 336; vol. xxix. pp. 27 and 28.

[3] Report of Museum and Art Gallery, 1907, p. 31.

temporarily appropriated for that purpose;" and in the newspaper report[1] of the December meeting of the Museum Committee it was stated that a certain mantelpiece from an old house in St. Michael's had been "re-erected in the Architectural room in the basement"—a still further confirmation!

I wish to add that the idea of this court has been strongly supported by the Bristol Society of Architects, the Principal of University College, and by many members of the staff, and by the Press of Bristol, who all realise the wealth of our heritage, and consequently our responsibility.

In passing from this subject, I feel convinced that members will wish me to express satisfaction at the arrangements that have at last been made, pending better and more spacious accommodation at an early date; for the "basement" room can hardly be termed suitable.

Amongst the specimens already exhibited in the apartment, first mention must be made of the fourteenth-century carved wood doorway,[2] which formed the entrance to Spicer's Hall; and the four stone corbels[3] from the same building, rescued after the fire in 1906.

I should like to say at this point—having in mind the efforts that are now being made to save Crosby Hall[4]—that just as that residence was probably the most important domestic edifice which adorned the city of London in the fifteenth century, so I claim that Spicer's Hall—judged by the few remains we possess which I described last year—must have been the finest domestic pile in the mediæval town of Bristow, a century earlier.

Then there are a number of carved wood brackets, dating from pre-Elizabethan times, removed from various half-timber houses now gone, including the grotesque figure from the "Fourteen Stars," a sixteenth-century hostelry at Counterslip,

[1] *Bristol Times and Mirror*, December 24th, 1907.

[2], [3] See *Trans.*, vol. xxx., pp. 158–160.

[4] Visited by the Society in 1898. See *Trans.*, vol. xxi., pp. 195 and 254. Since destroyed, February, 1908.

destroyed in 1857; the curious carving from the old "Cat and Wheel," Castle Green, demolished in 1900, but immediately rebuilt on the same site, when a *facsimile* of the old sign was erected; and two unique brackets from Temple Street, one being a dated example. There are also two stone chimney-pieces of the seventeenth century; a "Queen Anne" door-head and an early eighteenth-century lead rain-water head; two carved standing figures which were removed when Newgate[1] was demolished, in 1766; and two seated figures that were taken down from Lawford's Gate[2] about 1769.

Now with regard to the *Archæological events* of the year, though they may not be as numerous as on some former occasions, they appear to me to be equally important, and fully as interesting, for there is certainly a greater desire than formerly to save and protect local relics.

Of the thoroughfares on the south side of the bridge, TEMPLE STREET pre-eminently possessed, in fact up to half a century ago, quite a number of the quaintest houses dating from the sixteenth century, mostly built of wood and plaster; and though many have since been destroyed, even yet there are several with old gabled roofs and projecting storeys at the northern end; and traces of sixteenth-century wood door mouldings and brackets, and a panelled door at No. 7, all worthy of examination, are still to be seen on the eastern side, close to Counterslip.

The demolition necessary to modern progress, however, did further havoc with the old tenements during 1907, and two small, but early houses, quickly disappeared from our view, at the commencement of the year.

As there is so little domestic architecture now left that may of a certainty be classed as "Elizabethan," it is better to describe any examples that come directly under our notice in fullest

[1] Latimer's *Annals of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 377.

[2] Latimer's *Annals of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 391, and Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i., p. 330.

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Horton, Photo, Bristol.

OLD HOUSES, TEMPLE STREET, BRISTOL.

DEMOLISHED 1907.

detail, even though the specimens may be of a debased style, in order to make our pictures of olden days live again. To this category must be ascribed the two quaint structures that had stood together in Temple parish for over three centuries before being demolished in January.

These houses were in a very bad state of repair, and were probably taken down for that reason. Whilst in recent years they had been known as Nos. 117 and 115 Victoria Street, their identity was equally apparent as Nos. 105 and 106 Temple Street; for it will be remembered that Victoria Street—constructed about 1865—cut through the old way at this point—which is almost opposite to "Ye Shakespeare," that still interesting gabled tavern, established half a century later,[1] which as yet has succumbed only to the restorer's skill, little probably now remaining of the original elevation.

Of the two houses then, that on the south side, the farthest from the city, formerly described as No. 105, was for many years a small hostelry known as "Crabb's Well," though it had been actually closed as a licensed house within the last twenty years.

Its frontage was only 15 ft. 6 in., with a depth of about 50 ft. The house was massively built for such a small pile, the front and back walls being no less than 2½ feet in thickness, and those at the sides actually 4 ft. As to the interior accommodation, that was small, and the tap-room, parlour and kitchens were more than a foot below the level of the pavement. There were three rooms on each of the next two floors, and a square-head attic had been formed above, probably in the eighteenth century, by raising the original gable roof. Apparently there was no cellar to the house originally, but otherwise there was plenty of space at the back, and, of course, a large skittle alley.

During the demolition traces of the original oak window frames were found in the front elevation, and moulded beams crossed the ceiling of the first floor room, all truly typical of the period of the dwelling. The fabric had, however, been much

1 It bears the date 1636 on its frontage.

altered since its first erection, and there were no other details remaining worthy of record, save these few links of the past.

Although the "Crabb's Well" was undoubtedly most insignificant as a building, it possessed a considerable reputation otherwise over a century ago, for Shiercliff, in his *Bristol Guide for* 1793, recorded that several carriers from Somerset and Wiltshire were "timed" to arrive and leave that house nearly every day in the week; and in another edition, issued sixteen years later, I find it stated that nearly a dozen "country carriers" made this inn their head-quarters, travelling to and from such distant places as Winchester, Exeter, Plymouth, Oxford, and all parts of Hampshire; the importance of such a connection with the city being obvious.

I understand that Messrs. Joseph Fish and Son's present warehouses occupy the site of the old inn yard, which provided accommodation for the carriers' wagons in those days.

The adjoining house, No. 106 Temple Street, probably the private house of the innkeeper, though with only a slightly narrower frontage, had a much smaller interior. This too had been considerably altered since it was built, but it retained most interesting characteristics, inasmuch as the two original carved wood brackets supporting the door-head of the entrance had withstood the changes of more than three centuries.

The left-hand bracket bears a grotesque mask head with scroll work at the sides; whilst the one which projected on the right of the doorway was credited with the date of its erection, the year 1587 being cut on the front, with additional leaf and scroll ornamentation. Both these specimens of Elizabethan carving were presented to the Museum by Messrs. Fish and Son, in June, for the Architectural Court; and when the numerous coats of paint have been carefully removed the true character of the work will doubtless be revealed.

Unimportant then as both these small dwellings may have appeared to us in passing to and fro during many years, much

of civic interest has undoubtedly transpired within their demolished walls.

By a curious coincidence, the adjoining property on the south side of these small houses, comprising a large brick-built dwelling-house of early eighteenth-century date, which had in these later days been used as an engineering factory, changed hands on the closing of those works, when it was purchased by the United Yeast Company, whose Bristol depot stands on the other side. This was No. 103 Temple Street.

As it came to my knowledge that the building was doomed, I ventured to approach the manager, Mr. Dove, as to the acquirement of the entrance *door-head*, and the unique lead *rain-water head* which clung to the outside back wall of the building.

In the face of numerous offers to purchase these relics, I must now again thank the manager for his kind and prompt action, and would congratulate this progressive company—which has its head-quarters in London—for showing a genuine interest in our city collection, and by willingly presenting them to the Museum.

The domestic *door-head* is a good example of the Queen Anne period, and is the first specimen to be thus saved. It may be described as a spherical shell-pattern head, with a cypher monogram in centre, probably of the builder's name, having excellent scroll-pattern brackets which project nearly three feet; the whole forming a very effective finish to an otherwise plain entrance.

There are not many fine examples left in the city, and though our older professional members tell us that quite a number existed here half a century ago, most have been destroyed.

Probably the earliest specimen is the one over the entrance to the house in Taylor's Court, Broad Street, tenanted by Messrs. A. & J. Bolt: this has a simple shell ornament, with

the date of erection, 1691. Another at No. 6 King Street[1] is supported by leaf and scroll brackets, the centre bearing shell and cherub ornamentation: and others of very plain type may be found in St. James's Square.

But several of the old almshouses and halls in Bristol retain their door-heads, all of which are worth noting and carefully photographing. That at the Merchant Tailors' Hall,[2] which carries armorial bearings in high relief, being very effective.

Of very pleasing design is the *lead rain-water head*, of early eighteenth-century period, which is semi-circular in shape, measuring 2 ft. 9 in. in height. It is divided into three sections by plain cross mouldings, of which the upper and lower have acanthus-leaf ornamentation. A shield in the centre, surrounded by a bold scroll border, has traces of some letters, probably those of the builder, but they have been much defaced through atmospheric influences.

This is the only example in our city collection, but other provincial museums possess many specimens. These artistic water heads form quite an interesting study in connection with other ornamental lead work associated with our old houses.

Of the few examples now remaining upon the ancient buildings of the city I will only mention the very fine heraldic specimen at No. 34 High Street, which bears the initials M.H.I. and the date 1686[3]; and another that can be seen on the front of the *Bristol Mercury* Office, Broad Street, the date 1711[4] showing beneath a cherub's head.

[1], [2] *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. v., plate xxxiii.
[3], [4] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, plate xxx.

When these have to come down from their present stately height let us hope they will ever after rest in the Architectural Court with the Temple specimen.

On the first day of February the archæological thermometer in Bristol rose to fever heat, on reading in the *Western Daily Press* of that morning the "discovery of an old bath which possibly dated back to the time of the Romans." As we unfortunately possess not a square foot of known Roman masonry in the old city it would, indeed, have been a delight to gaze on such a find; but, alas!

The first intimation I had of the discovery came through our member. Mr. Oatley, and we soon found that the bath was connected with a Georgian house, built about the middle of the eighteenth century on the south side of the Broad Plain, styled in seventeenth-century plans "St. Philip's Plain." Up to 1673, according to Millerd's large plan, there were only seven houses on the north side starting at the corner by the church, and only some seven or eight on the opposite side; whilst at the spot where the bath was found it was at that time apparently all garden ground.

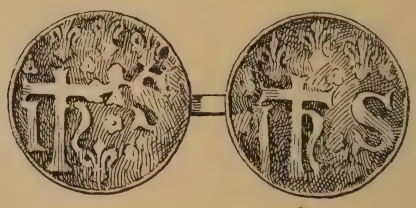
The buildings at the time of the discovery were undergoing a complete renovation for mission purposes, and the find was at the back of the house.

The bath referred to was formed of stone slabs, 4 inches thick, tongued together, and measured 6 ft. in length by 2 ft. 9 in. in width at the top edge: as the sides sloped, the measurement at bottom was only 4 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. Its depth was 4 ft. 3 in.; there were four steps at one end and a narrow seat was fixed at the other. The bath was surrounded by brick walling, and the room which enclosed it, though only about 7 ft. square, contained a small fireplace.

The residence, which is now in perfect order, has a very roomy interior, and is an excellent example of the "Adam" period; it still possesses much decorative work of merit, and when it formerly stood amidst open gardens must have been an edifice of considerable importance.

Was it the country abode of a Bristol merchant, possibly of a wealthy mayor ?

In preparing the site for Messrs. Baker, Baker & Co.'s new premises, which extend from Bridge Street to Mary-le-Port Street, also during February, no important discoveries were expected, as the land had been previously excavated, but a Bristol circular farthing of the year 1652 was found ; and also a *sacramental ticket or medalet.* This ticket, which is of brass and nearly an inch in diameter, bears the letters " I.H.S. " in Lombardic characters on each side, with fleurs-de-lys in the field.



As the site adjoins both St. Mary-le-Port Church and the old Bridge Street disused chapel, I must leave members to decide whence it came. These tickets were given for attendance at Sacraments. In former days, if a member of the congregation was slack in his attendance, it was brought to his knowledge. The medalet was a guarantee of his attendance. A large number of such tickets were distributed during the eighteenth century in Wales and in Scotland, and specimens are eagerly sought after by the enthusiastic collector of to-day—for want of a better hobby, I suppose,—judging by the lists issued by numismatic dealers ; but this is the first specimen I remember having been found in Bristol. It must be conceded, I suppose, that the folk in these parts paid more heed to the admonitions of their priests in those days, though I fancy a

good supply of such tickets might now be required for Bristol use if the old custom was still in vogue.

Starting half an hour before midnight on Saturday, May 18th, and burning well into Whit-Sunday, a fire almost entirely destroyed the half-timber house known as *No.* 86 *Castle Street*, occupied for many years by T. Goldesbrough, tobacconist, the adjoining house also suffering some injury.

Members will recall to mind that the two interesting tenements referred to, which were very similar in style, stood even with the pavement in the main thoroughfare, only a few yards eastward of St. Peter's Church, but separated from that edifice by two Georgian brick structures tenanted by Messrs. Garlick.

The original houses, which consisted of only three floors, were probably erected in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, soon after the destruction of the castle, and the shop accommodation may have been inserted a century and a half later. The gable roofs and the very plain extended frontages of the upper floors were all that reminded us of the simple architecture of the Commonwealth and later periods. Owing to the damage sustained by the fire, it was found necessary to entirely rebuild, and a very plain brick structure now occupies the site.

And without any warning, towards the end of August the frontage of *No.* 44 *High Street* was cut right away and a new elevation built up! The why and the wherefore I know not, but presumably to secure a better fitted shop, though by the replacement we have lost a really good late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century house of distinct character.

It seems as if the retention of the Dutch House had created quite an epidemic, as it were, in half-timber architecture, for this, and the adjoining property lately rebuilt, have been put up in the same picturesque style. Judging by the character of the work, however, neither are likely to outlast the remains of the 1676 house at the corner, in which we have been particularly interested for so long.

And whilst picturing ourselves in High Street, may I just record here that another, and let us hope a final, attack against the retention of the *Dutch House* took place in the City Council on the 8th day of October.

It is only necessary to say that the motion, which read, "That so much of the resolution of the Council of the 23rd October, 1906, as relates to the retention of the Dutch House or the appropriation thereof by the Council, be rescinded, and that it be an instruction to the New Streets Committee to consider the desirability of disposing by public auction of such portion of the premises as shall not be required for street widening," was, after a somewhat heated discussion, defeated by 50 votes to 20.

I understand that preparations for the repairs are well in hand, and that Mr. Skinner, the architect entrusted with the work, hopes to commence operations soon, for all the tenants have now vacated the building. Members will, I am sure, wish the architect every success in this very important undertaking.

There are no further architectural discoveries to be reported from *All Saints'* (*city*) in finishing the work of reparation on the north side, but it may be worth mentioning that a few coins were found. The most interesting specimen was :—

A Seventeenth-Century Trader's Token (*C.* 1650).

Obv. IN. HAMPTON.ROAD = T.C.

Rev. IN. GLOSTER.SHEIRE = T.C.

This is a new variety, for the two other known types are spelt Gloucester.shiere, and Glouester-shere.

There were also found :—

A George III. halfpenny of 1775 and 1780.

A George III. "Cart Wheel" penny, 1797.

A Roman Imperial "Second brass" of Severus (A.D. 193–211), reading—

On the *Obv.* L. SEPTIMIVS. SEVERVS. PERTINAX. AVG. with head of Emperor to right.

On the *Rev.* VRBS. ROMA, figure of Rome, seated.

As this latter coin had a ring attached, it had evidently been worn on a chain.

At the church of SS. Philip and Jacob some interesting alterations have taken place in order to utilize the north aisle for worship.

In the Kemys aisle,[1] or chantry chapel, the fragment of a recumbent stone effigy of a *knight*[2] *in armour*, and the plain tomb on which it still rests, have been removed from the easternmost end of the south side of that chapel to within the most easterly panelled arch on the same side. A small detached stone bearing a coronet, which has always been associated with the knight, lies immediately above the effigy. The tomb, which has no relation to the figure, is that of Mary, second wife of Edward Cox, a merchant of the city, who died October 21st, 1623. Then another similar tomb—likewise of a Mary—the first wife of the same citizen, who died in 1620, which had stood on the north side, has been transported to the second of the panelled arches from the east end. On this tomb rests the much defaced twelfth-century sepulchral slab,[3] which came to light on rebuilding the south wall of the chancel about seventy years ago.

With regard to this unknown knight, the first illustration—and a very crude one—appeared in an old Bristol Guide for 1826,[4] another wood-block being printed in 1836,[5] both showing the effigy as fixed in an upright position at the base of a window. This broken effigy, represented in armour of early fifteenth century, has been frequently moved about, judging by the descriptions in the numerous histories and guides since Barrett's time, which is much to be regretted.

[1] Barrett (W.), *History of Bristol*, 1789, pp. 528–530.

[2] Chilcott's *Guide to Bristol*, 1826, p. 78. See woodcut. Chilcott's *Guide to Bristol*, 4th Ed. (1836), p. 169. See woodcut. Pryce (George), *Middle Ages in Bristol*, 1850, p. 214. *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 99.

[3] Pryce (George), *Middle Ages in Bristol*, 1850, p. 208 (illustrated).

[4] Chilcott's *New Guide to Bristol*, 1826, p. 78.

[5] Chilcott's *Descriptive History*, 4th Ed. (1836), p. 169.

The large crocketed and canopied tomb to the memory of the Rev. William Day,[1] a former vicar, who died in 1832, which almost filled up the east end of the Kemys aisle, was removed to the west wall of the south aisle, at the same time and for the same reason.

The other event at this church was the reparation of the carved oak *font-canopy*, given to the church in 1623 by one Andrew Townsend, which had been discarded for many years. The design of this square-shaped font-head is typical Jacobian, and comprises four carved arched openings on each side, surmounted on the top by eight carved scrolls radiating from the centre.

A seventeenth-century *oak table*, with a four-spiral column at each of the four corners—probably the actual communion table used in the time of Laud, though for many years serving no special purpose in the building—has been restored, and is now utilised as an altar table in the newly-arranged Lady chapel.

With regard to Temple Church, where much work has been carried out in 1907, Mr. Gough, architect to the vestry, tells me that the repair of the exterior of the chancel, south chapel and nave has been carried out. He says the original freestone work of the church came from a soft bed of Dundry stone, which, on the sides exposed to the weather, had become so decayed as to render some of the details almost undistinguishable.

The nave had been extensively repaired in Bath stone and cement, many of the features having been incorrectly copied from the original work. Rough masonry parapets and lead gutters not before existing had been formed at the eaves of the chancel and south chapel roofs. These were removed, and overhanging eaves substituted.

The south chapel gable was mutilated by the formation of a vestry at the east end, hideous windows and a chimney having

[1] Chilcott's *Descriptive History*, 10th Ed., 1857, p. 174.

been introduced quite out of character with the orginal structure. These have been replaced by more appropriate features.

The repair of the stonework has been carried out in the most conservative manner possible, and every old stone that it was possible to retain has been allowed to remain in its original state. The stone work of the nave, owing to the extensive modern repairs in cement and Bath stone, has been to a considerable extent renewed, the details being correctly copied from the few ancient fragments that existed.

The only discovery made of any interest, from an antiquarian point of view, was in repairing some of the nave buttresses. Several fragments belonging to an earlier structure than the present nave were found embedded in the buttresses with the ornamental parts built into the substance of the masonry, and thus being protected from the weather were in a fair state of preservation. These fragments are now stored in the Weaver's Chapel, and will be found to correspond in character and date with the ornamental recess still existing below the floor of this chapel, proving the existence of a building on the site probably of about the early "Decorated" period. Some few ancient ornamental fragments were many years ago built into the external recess of a blocked window under the eastern window of the Weaver's Chapel, and these have been removed for safety into the interior of the chapel. One much mutilated block carved with figures having probably been a portion of the top of a churchyard cross, which it has been suggested represents St. Christopher and child.

During 1907 the Church of St. Mary-le-Port has undergone extensive repairs under Mr. W. D. Caroe, architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the work having been completed by the end of September.

Though the tower had been largely restored in 1859, it was now found necessary to reset the top of the turret and repair the crockets, in addition to the renewal of other faulty work. It contains a peal of eight bells dating from 1749, which are unfortunately never now heard.

This church has unfortunately been frequently "restored," the last time in 1876, when the windows were entirely renewed, and when the Jacobian ceilings were replaced by deal ribbed barrel vaults.

The repairs to the nave on the present occasion were only of a general character. The roof, however, has now been tiled with "ordinary red roofing tiles" in place of Bangor slates and Roman tiles which had previously covered the building on the south and north sides respectively.

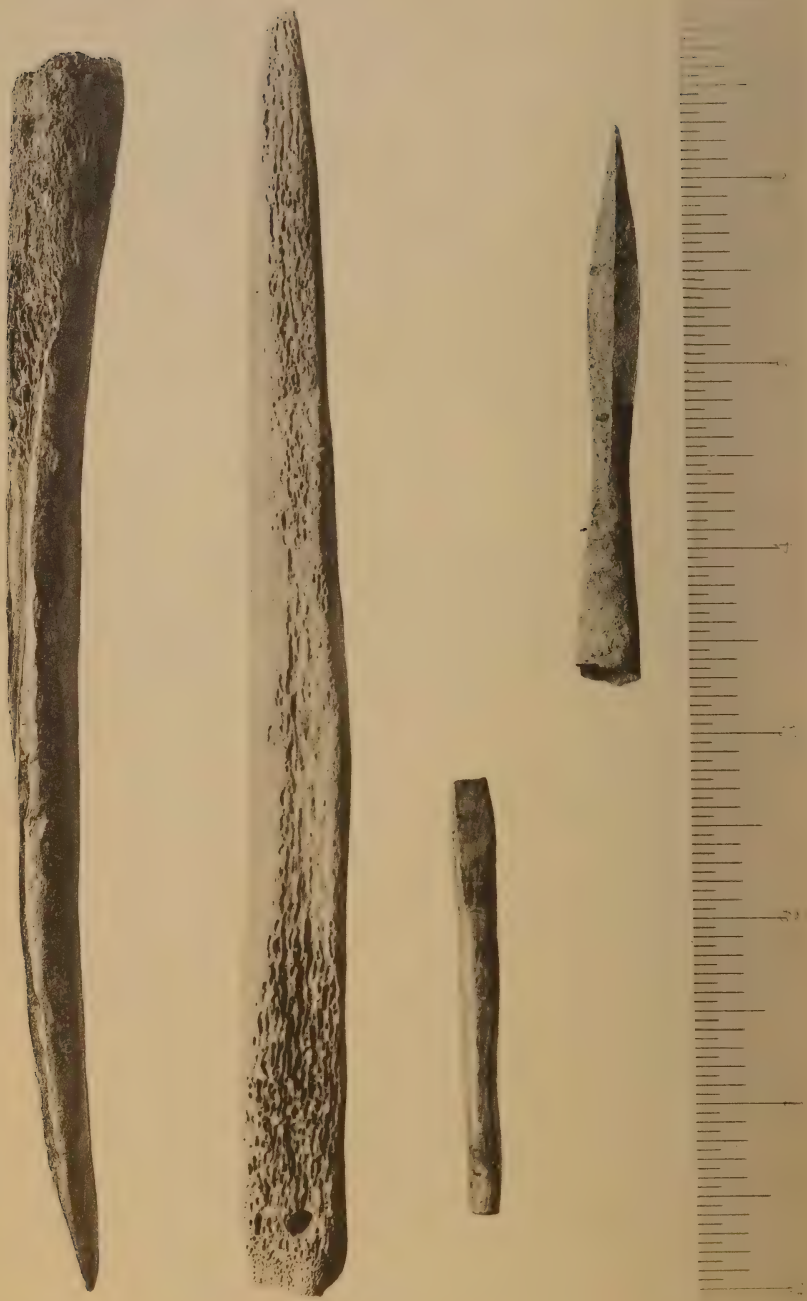
Members will remember that in this church stands the very fine brass eagle lectern which formerly was used in the Cathedral until it was sold. Its date is 1683, and its height 7ft. 3in,

Visitors to the church are still shown in the belfry a fragment of an ancient stout wood post, which is described to them as an old "mooring post" to which ships were formerly moored according to Barrett[1]—when they were discharged at the Shambles (now Bridge Street). Such was an impossible theory, the post undoubtedly having been used simply for the purpose of lowering heavy goods in and out of the very capacious cellars just at that spot.

During the process of laying new flooring at the Merchant Venturers' Hall in June, and whilst inserting a girder in one of the walls beneath the reception room, some early ecclesiastical remains were discovered.

A short length of a stone mullion came to light in the first instance, and finally the lower portion of a four-light window was uncovered. This was in the north wall of what is undoubtedly the Chapel of St. Clement which has an inside measurement of 68 feet from east to west, and 23 feet from north to south. At the east end of the chapel are two excellent pointed doorways in a good state of preservation, the southern one evidently containing the original wood door of six panels. The measurement of the window is 7 ft. 11 in. across the

[1] Barrett (W.), *History of Bristol*, 1789. Compare pp. 72, 81 and 526.



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PRE-HISTORIC IRON-AGE OBJECTS AND MEDIÆVAL ARROW HEAD, FOUND IN BRISTOL, 1907.

mullions, which are 6 in. wide by 12 in. deep; but as the upper portion is wholly gone, the height of this north window cannot be ascertained.

References to the foundation will be seen in Barrett's *History of Bristol*[1] and in Latimer's *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers*,[2] whence we learn that the date of the grant of land for this chapel was 1493.

THE PITHAY.[3]

The work of excavating for the most recent extension of Messrs. Frys' new factory at the foot of the east side of the Pithay, which was commenced in the previous summer, was practically finished in 1907, during which time several interesting antiquities were discovered. In the deep digging, at a depth of over thirty feet in the river bank of the Frome, a polished *bone needle* in fine state of preservation, 6⅝ inches long and drilled with a very small eye, came to light on January 2nd; and another specimen 6⅞ inches in length, slightly decayed, and a polished *bone pin* 2⅜ inches long, with a square shank at one end and drilled at the other, were discovered six months later. (See illustrations.)

Associated with these articles of domestic life indicating a very early period of occupation—to which I have referred in previous years—were found remains of the red deer, including tine tips and the base portion of an antler; several boars' tusks, and traces of the early British ox. And further fragments of pottery at various depths.

Those members who know Seyer's *Memoirs of the City*, and have studied the lines of the mediæval defences, so clearly set down by the schoolmaster's hand, will be interested in hearing that further traces of the wall were cut into close by the Pithay Chapel. In demolishing this Norman masonry the workmen

[1] Pages 180 and 516. [2] Page 18.

[3] My thanks are due once more to Mr. Claude B. Fry for his great kindness in connection with the excavations, and to Mr. Dowling, Clerk of Works, my appreciation for continuous courtesy. Also to Mr. Moline for photographing these finds.

actually found a wrought-iron nail and a brass domestic pin, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, in the mortar itself.

Another interesting discovery occurred in February, when, at a depth of twenty feet almost beneath the chapel, a *mediæval iron arrow-head* turned up. The socket end of this very unusual specimen, which measured three inches long, contained traces of the wood shaft which originally directed its course. (See previous plate.)

The following objects were also found at various depths :—

Numerous fragments of early *mediæval pottery*.

A piece of *encaustic tile*, doubtless from one of the city churches.

A monastic circular *copper ring with tongue*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, probably of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. A similar specimen, and of the same size, was found on the Carmelite site in 1904.[1]

Iron handcuff, an interesting relic of possibly civic authority at the end of the seventeenth century.[2] (See tail-piece.)

A *pewter spoon* with rat-tail bowl, giving a side light into domestic life of a slightly later period [*circa* 1710].

As to *coins*, of course very few turned up, but beneath an arched cellar, some ten feet below ground level, close to the chapel, was found a base Roman denarius of GALLIENVS (253—268).

It is badly struck, but a perfect one should read as follows :

Obv. Head of Emperor to right : DIVO. GALLIENO.

Rev. An eagle with wings expanded : CONSECRATIO.

This reverse is not common. With no actual Roman occupation of this ancient site, it is of course impossible to hazard a guess as to how this coin reached the spot where it lay.

When the chapel was being demolished, an eighteenth-century Token was found. It was a Lancaster half-penny of 1792, and similar to Atkins' No. 14 Lancashire (p. 56.)[3] Around the edge : Payable in London, Bristol and Lancaster.

[1] See *Trans.*, vol. xxix., p. 141. [2] In the City Museum.

[3] Atkins' *Eighteenth Century Tokens.*

Page 229. Lewis Proctiers, Photo, Bristol.

THE PITHAY CHAPEL.

PITHAY CHAPEL.

The work of destruction of more of the old buildings at the foot of the slope, including the Pithay Chapel, which had long been occupied by Messrs. J. S. Fry & Sons, commenced early in the year.

This chapel possessed no unusual features of architecture, being a simple brick erection with a name-stone inset over the entrance, reading

BAPTIST
MEETING
1653.

To many it is supposed that this was the date of the chapel, but as a matter of fact the recently-demolished building was erected at the close of the eighteenth century.

In the new Bristol Guide for 1794 it was stated that the Pithay (Baptist) meeting has been "lately rebuilt"; and in Heath's Guide of 1797 the further description was given that the Meeting had "Galleries on three sides supported by small pillars of Mahogany; and two stout pillars of Freestone, which support the cross Arch of the Roof; the whole spacious and beautiful."

The Rev. John Tommas preached the last sermon in the old meeting-house, which was no doubt the 1653 building, in the year 1791, and the new chapel was soon after erected upon the site. It may therefore be surmised that the tablet bearing the date of the original building was inserted at that time.

The old chapel stood close to the historic Pithay Pump [1] and looked across to the "Blue Bowl," which was pulled down about twenty years ago. This tavern stood on the west side at the foot of the declivity; it was a house of renown and doubtless well frequented in its day by many of the folk occupying the unrivalled rows of Elizabethan houses now living in memory only.[2]

[1] See *Trans.*, vol. xxiii., p. 274.

[2] See *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. iv., plate iii.

THE BLIND GATE.

And now I have to say something about the old Gateway in John Street, always described nowadays as St. John's Arch, but equally well know to many members as the Blind Gate, which our historians, Barrett and Seyer, called it.

It is also mentioned as early as 1395 in a Bristol Will, for William Poynez,[1] in that year, left to his wife Elizabeth, for her life, a tenement next the "*Blyndezate*" in Bristol: and in the will, dated 1409, of Walter Seymour,[2] a burgess, "two tenements with garden in Wynchestret, by the gate called Blyndegate" are referred to.

Nothing that has been written of the walls and gates of the city equals in clearness Seyer's quaint and vivid description, so let me remind you of what he said about this spot. When he penned his *Memoirs*[3] in 1821 he said that "At St. John's Church Yard are the steps going down toward Bridewell, the gateway at which steps was one of the old town-gates called Blindgate; and over it is a Tower traditionally called Dove-tower. It had a small turret at the western angle, *i.e.* at the bottom of the steps, on the left hand, as you go down; some part of which turret was to be seen until the present year, 1821, when the Diocesan school was built. The original facing of the gateway on the top of the steps is still visible, strong and regular, and the wall appears to have been ten feet thick. W.W. (William Worcester) says that there was a large square tower near St. John's churchyard; and in the Chamberlain's accounts A.D. 1655–6, there is mention of Nightingale's tower and Nightingale's wall in Tower-lane: the former is probably what was called Dove-tower."

According to one of the local guides in 1844 the "plain arch in the thick old city wall" was also called "Tower Gateway," on which a "lofty house" was erected.

To this fragment then of the ancient line of defence—which

[1] Wadley (Rev. T. P.), *Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills*, 1886, p. 55.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85. [3] See vol. i., p. 266.

as an archway appears to be in its original condition—our attention is called at the present time, for in consequence of the purchase and exchange between the city and Messrs. J. S. Fry & Sons, it seems likely that we shall lose the last remaining original gateway of Norman Bristol unless we enter our protest.

Owing to the wonderful progress of that great chocolate house, it is only natural they will secure what sites they require, so it surprises no one to find that negotiations have been in progress for some time as to the acquirement of additional land in the vicinity of the Arch House already referred to.

On April 16th last, the Chairman of the Sanitary and Improvement Committee, in the Council Chamber reported that the whole of the site in Nelson Street and Tower Lane, comprising the "Old Trade School" and adjacent properties, was available for immediate development, with the exception of the portion occupied by the "Arch House" in Tower Lane; and that the Committee had entered into negotiations with regard to the property, with the result that they had provisionally agreed to purchase it.

Upon the purchase of the property it was proposed to *pull down the existing buildings* and utilise a portion of the site for a street improvement, towards which scheme Messrs. J. S. Fry & Sons had agreed to contribute.

That resolution was *unanimously carried,*[1] and all legal formalities have doubtless been completed since then.

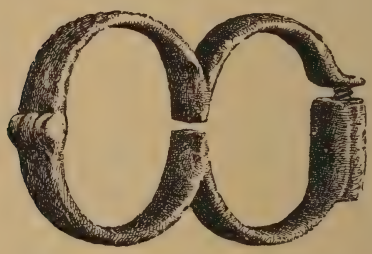
But as I understand the masonry of the gateway still belongs to the city—and I am convinced that that firm would not be likely to insist upon its removal—*we may surely ask if it is actually necessary that the archway shall be destroyed,* especially as the thoroughfare is to be continued only as a footway, and the present path is considered of ample width for the traffic at this spot.

I am confident, too, that no lord mayor, magistrate or legal functionary would prefer to pass to the Courts of justice,

[1] See Bristol newspapers, April 17th, 1907.

nor the business man to his work or his home, other than by this gateway, which has been used since Norman times by kings and princes, and men and women, of all nationalities of all ranks and all creeds; which could doubtless tell more history than most of us would care to hear.

In conclusion, I desire to say that I sincerely trust the Council will be able to secure the safety of this historic relic for all time *in situ*—and this can surely be done at no cost to the city.



HAND-CUFF FROM THE PITHAY.

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LEADEN VESSELL FROM WOODCHESTER CHURCH.

NOTES ON A LEADEN VESSEL IN GLOUCESTER MUSEUM.

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., F.S.A.

A LEADEN casket, which some experts consider was made in the thirteenth century, was found in old Woodchester Church, and is now preserved in the Gloucester Municipal Museum. The bottom is a circular disc of lead, having a diameter of 8¾ inches, and on this are placed four sheets of lead soldered together, giving the vessel a rectangular shape. The vessel is 7½ inches in height, and the rectangular top is 6½ inches square. It is very probable that the circular bottom is a later addition. The casket weighs 20 lb. 3½ oz., and the four sides are stamped with impressions from the same mould. The modelling is very delicate, and the panel is framed in a most beautiful wavy floral border. The subject selected by the artist is the deposition from the cross and the emblems of the Passion. In the foreground are flowering plants, and the Blessed Virgin is seated with the dead Christ on her knees. St. John supports the head of our Lord, while St. Mary Magdalene has placed one of her hands on His knee, and the other rests on His left hand. Our Lord's right arm hangs down over the knee of the Blessed Virgin. Behind is the empty cross, and the three nails which ancient tradition declares were used in the crucifixion are depicted—one on the top and one on each arm of the cross. The crown of thorns encircles the top of the cross, while on the scroll above are the letters, "I.N.R.I.," standing for "*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum.* The spear of Longinus is crossed by the reed and the sponge, while above the two arms of the cross are the cock that warned St. Peter, and the pelican nourishing her brood with her own blood. The "pelican in its piety" is an ancient and very eloquent emblem of the self-

sacrifice of the Redeemer, who "gave His flesh for the life of the world."

On one side of the upright shaft of the cross the head of the High Priest, wearing a mitre, is depicted; and on the other is the head of Pontius Pilate, surmounted by a crown. Both the High Priest and Pontius Pilate have long pointed beards. The ladder with thirteen rundles, the purse of Judas Iscariot overflowing with money, an impudent repulsive head in the act of spitting, three dice—two with 6 on the top and one with 4—the seamless vest, and vessels for holding those liquids which the Evangelists narrate were presented to our Lord, are all depicted in this small picture. The pillar twined with the cord, and two scourges or flagella—the "horribile flagellum" as Horace calls it—or whips of several thongs are also represented in wonderful detail in the extremely limited space at the artist's disposal.

Before we consider the probable use of this ancient vessel, we must mention the existence of two other small leaden vessels. One is preserved at Lewis Castle,[1] and it probably dates from Anglo-Saxon items. It is rectangular in shape, being 14 inches in length by 8 inches in height. It had iron handles, of which parts remain, and it is ornamented with rows of dots. The vessel is adorned with a triangle, in which is a pattern and a small cross. The other small leaden vessel is in the Maidstone Museum, and is somewhat dilapidated. It is circular in shape, and was found in the Medway. This little casket is only 3½ inches in height, and has a diameter of 11½ inches. A rim, half an inch wide, is supported by twelve flanges affixed to the exterior of the vessel. At each of the two opposite points in the rim are two flanges which meet at right angles, to give holdfast to an arched handle originally inserted at these points. The spaces between the flanges are decorated in low relief with an ornament of graceful foliage.[2]

[1] This vessel is illustrated in a paper in *The Architectural Review* (vol. xix., p. 100), written by Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A.

[2] See "English Lead Fonts," by Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., *Architectural Review*, vol. xix., p. 100. It is also described in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii., p. 209.

Mr. C. Roach Smith some years ago described another small leaden vessel found at Felixstowe, and which he considered belonged to the tenth century. "It had lost its rim, but seems to have retained some traces of two or three flanges. It was 6 inches high, 31 inches in circumference and had an iron handle. There were but four ornaments on its exterior, each of which represented a stiff-stalked plant with leaves and flowers at its base, having also two branches each like the central stem ending in three leaves."[1]

It is difficult to know what these small leaden vessels were used for. It is very doubtful if any of them were ever used as fonts. Small fonts were rarely, if ever, used at the time they were constructed, and even if they were portable fonts they would be heavy to carry any great distance. The fact that they are made of lead does not, however, militate against this theory, as fonts were occasionally made of this metal, and our country still possesses leaden fonts at Frampton-on-Severn, Siston, Oxenhall, Tidenham, Sandhurst, Llancaut, Slimbridge, Haresfield and Down Hatherley. Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., writing in the *Architectural Review* for March, 1906, says of the leaden vessel at Lewis Castle: "The evidence of its use as a font is slender, in fact confined to the existence of a cross in a triangle of ornament. There are the remains of iron handles, which seem to show that it was not an ossuary, a reliquary or a stoup. But its use must remain conjectural." Could any of these small leaden vessels have been salt-cellars is a question which deserves some consideration. As they possessed handles, it is, therefore, unlikely they could have been used as heart-caskets, although the size would be about right for such a purpose. The heart-casket of Richard I. is a leaden box nearly 1 foot long, 8 inches wide, and 5 inches deep.[2]

The leaden vessel from old Woodchester Church is not at all likely to have been used as a font, as the decoration is

[1] See *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii., p. 300.

[2] See *The Antiquary*, New Series, vol. iii., p. 385.

unusual for a vessel used for such a purpose, it is smaller than any known example, and it has no marking on the edge where hinges or locks might have been attached. It may have been a reliquary, or a stoup, or a lavabo. Possessing no lid, and apparently not constructed for one, it therefore seems unlikely to have been made for a reliquary. It may have been a holy water stoup, in which use it would, doubtless, have stood upon a stone bracket at the entrance to the church. However, there is no known instance of a stoup being made of lead, and the character of the decoration hardly encourages the idea, but it is at least not impossible that it should have been used for such a purpose. It may have been a lavabo. It could not, however, have been easy to carry and was heavy. Portable vessels are more convenient for the priest to wash his hands in at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Yet it may have been made for this object, and in that case it is probably unique, and is the only ancient leaden lavabo known to exist in England.

ON A SKELETON AND OTHER RELICS LATELY FOUND IN A ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT AT RADSTOCK.

By J. McMURTRIE, F.G.S.

WITH NOTES ON THE SKULL BY DR. JOHN BEDDOE, LL.D., F.R.S.

In the years 1897 and 1898, in the course of quarry operations at Tyning, Radstock, it was the writer's good fortune to meet with an interesting series of remains, which were pronounced by Professor Boyd Dawkins to belong to the prehistoric Iron Age, and probably contemporary with the Glastonbury lake village. In the following year, when opening out a new lias quarry in Kilmersdon Road, Radstock, at a distance of thirteen hundred yards as the crow flies from Tyning Quarry, a still more remarkable series of remains was discovered, which contained much in common with the previous find, but included Samian pottery, one Roman coin, and various other relics, which were considered to be of Romano-British age. In another part of the same parish, and at an intermediate point between these two quarries, in Hobbs's nursery gardens, a third group of remains of less importance was found, this succession of discoveries indicating a rather widespread occupation of the parish in ancient British and Romano-British times, presenting a strange contrast with the busy mining and industrial surroundings of the parish in these later days.

Having contributed various papers on the subject to the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society and the Bath Field Club, in the years 1898, 1899 and 1900, I do not propose to go over the same ground in this paper, except so

far as may be necessary by way of introduction to the more recent discoveries which these notes are intended to describe.

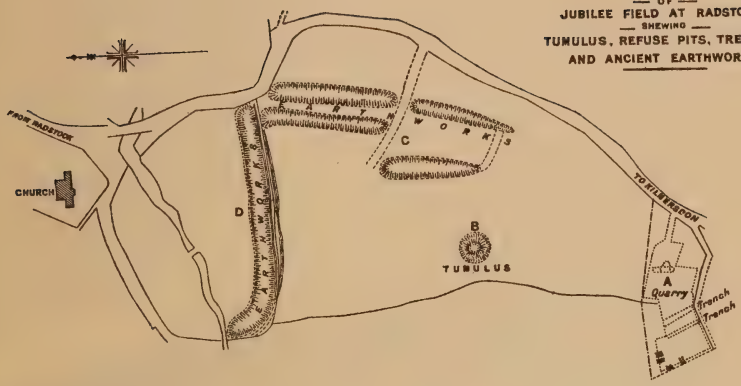
In order to explain the locality in which these various discoveries were made, and to point out the site of other ancient remains with which they are associated, attention is directed to the plans, which give a general outline of that part of the parish of Radstock situated on the line of the ancient Fosse, where these interesting remains were found.

Near the eastern extremity of the parish, and close by the Fosse, stands an exceptionally fine barrow, called . . . Round Hill, formerly explored by Skinner of Camerton, and near it is the reputed site of an ancient Roman town, said to have been traced by him, but of which no vestige now remains.

No special feature marks the immediate surroundings of Tyning Quarry or Hobbs's Nursery, but the Kilmersdon Road Quarry is situated in a field called Jubilee Field, near Radstock Church, which contains various ancient remains, forming a fitting environment to the place where the principal relics have been found. Standing on the summit of a bold promontory, between the Charlton and Kilmersdon valleys, there is an ancient tumulus, where some British chief may perchance lie buried; but his bones must have been severely roasted by the Jubilee bonfire erected on its summit in 1887, unless, indeed, they had been appropriated by Mr. Skinner or some other antiquary, at an earlier date, of whose researches there are some traces.

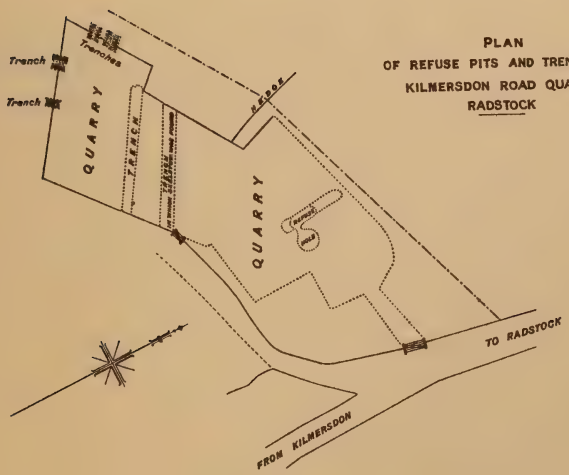
At the foot of this elevation there is an ancient earthwork, flanked by a deep ditch, which extends along the northern fence of Jubilee Field, from the public bathing-place in Charlton Brook to Kilmersdon Road, a distance of two hundred yards; and turning off at right angles to this, a double line of earthworks and trenches extends southwards along the eastern margin of the field, ending in what has the appearance of a small rectangular camp. These earthworks do not appear to have

PLAN
— OF —
JUBILEE FIELD AT RADSTOCK
— SHEWING —
TUMULUS, REFUSE PITS, TRENCHES
AND ANCIENT EARTHWORKS.



Scale of Chains.

PLAN
OF REFUSE PITS AND TRENCHES IN
KILMERSDON ROAD QUARRY,
RADSTOCK



been noticed by any previous writer, and their purpose is very difficult to understand, the fortifications now visible being confined to the northern and eastern sides of the field, while the southern and western sides have no apparent protection; but the more recent discoveries, to which this paper is intended to call attention, tend to show that other entrenchments probably existed which may be deserving of further exploration.

The relics formerly met with in the various quarries referred to have already been recorded in the *Proceedings* of the Somerset and Bath Societies, and may be shortly summarised as follows:—

In *Tyning Quarry*, a quern of rather special make, a rubbing stone with pebble rubber, a spindle-whorl of white lias, a considerable quantity of black pottery (most of it of a very coarse description), an iron nail, the teeth and bones of red deer and sheep or goats, some specimens bearing evidence of gnawing; and interspersed with these were numerous fragments of charcoal, burnt clay and stones, some of the latter being foreign to the locality in which they were found.

In *Hobbs's Nursery* the articles found were a stag's horn of large dimensions, partly petrified; numerous specimens of red pottery, etc., but no Samian, which was entirely absent both here and in the quarry last described.

In the *Kilmersdon Road Quarry*, however, the finds were much more numerous and varied in their character, including bronze implements of beautiful manufacture, flints, ancient glass, iron implements and nails, iron ore, the bones and teeth of the horse, cow, sheep, pig, dog, cat and hedgehog, also of fishes and birds; baked pellets and pottery of almost every description, from highly ornamented Samian to the commoner red, yellow and black pottery peculiar to this period. Examples of these relics have been exhibited at a previous evening meeting of this Society, as well as in the temporary museum at the Annual General Meeting held at Bristol in July 1906.

Since the date of these earlier finds, considerable quantities of black pottery, and of bones of various descriptions, have been met with from time to time; also some relics of a more valuable kind, amongst which the following may be mentioned:—

Two examples of ornamented Samian, of patterns not previously found in these deposits.

Additional specimens of red and buff-coloured pottery.

Portions of an urn, noticed by Dr. Bulleid.

One fibula of an exceptionally beautiful pattern, probably as fine an example as is to be met with in any collection.

One bronze armlet of twisted pattern.

Two small pieces of brass, possibly droppings from the smelting-pot.

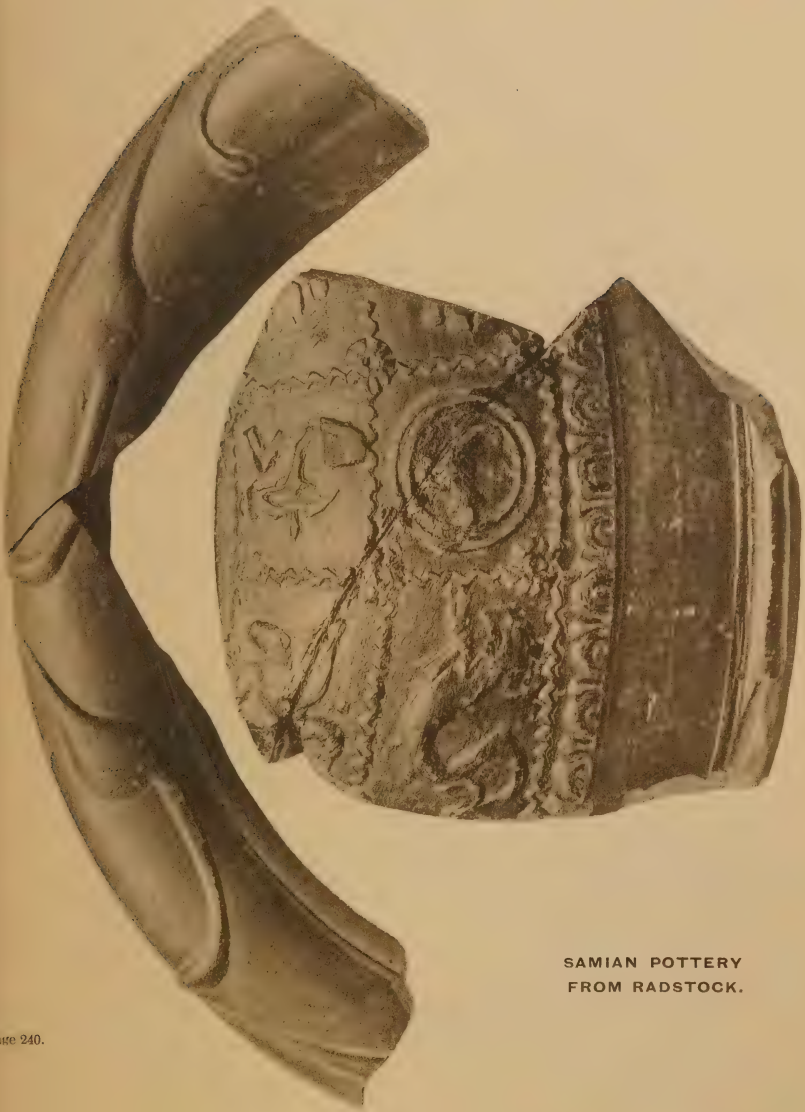
One short circular bar of lead, bent oval in the shape of a link.

One bone pin.

One small copper coin, the only one yet found, bearing on one side the head of a Roman Emperor, but with the accompanying inscription quite illegible, the reverse side containing a much worn representation of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. In the opinion of Mr. Pritchard, who has kindly examined the specimen for me, the head is without doubt that of Constantine the Great, Emperor from 306 to 337.

The whole of the finds in Tyning Quarry were obtained from circular refuse pits or kitchen middens, which had been excavated in a thick layer of liassic debris and earth overlying the lias rock, and when discovered contained black earth or soil quite distinct from the original strata, the soil being interspersed with the relics which have already been described.

At the Kilmersdon Road quarry the specimens were, in one or more instances, met with in refuse pits similar to those described; at other places in a thick deposit of black earth which overlay the liassic debris, and being much thicker



SAMIAN POTTERY
FROM RADSTOCK.

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than the ordinary layer of surface soil, may have been the remains of earthworks levelled about for agricultural purposes. Later extensions of the quarry, however, seem to show the existence of ancient trenches extending right across the quarry. and apparently into the adjoining land. At least three of these have been cut through, the liassic debris having been originally excavated down to the lias rock, and afterwards filled in apparently with dark earth resembling surface soil, which is in marked contrast with the strata in which the trench was cut. These trenches appear to have been about 5 feet to 10 feet wide at the surface, narrowing downwards towards the bottom, which is about 5 feet deep. Similar trenches were met with and excavated by General Pitt Rivers at Cranbourne Chase.

It was in the innermost of these trenches, which ran diagonally across the quarry as shown by red lines on the diagram, that when uncovering the beds of building stone, in the autumn of 1905, the quarrymen discovered the skeleton which forms the subject of this paper. As described in their own words, it lay on its back at full length, about the middle of the quarry, in the line of the trench and near the bottom, with its head towards Kilmersdon and its feet towards Radstock, the arms being straight down by its side. It is much to be regretted that the workmen did not cease operations at this stage, in order that some more skilled person might have removed the skeleton without injury; but they appear to have dug it out in their rough fashion, and deposited the remains on the neighbouring turf. It was fortunate that Dr. Bulleid (of lake village fame) happened to look into the quarry on the following day, when he gathered together all that was sufficiently intact to be removed, more especially the skull, which he was the means of getting out, cleaning and restoring with professional skill and care, for which the writer would desire to express his personal obligations, as also to Mr. Bolton and his assistants at the Bristol Museum for their kind help in mounting it.

The bones thus preserved are as follows:—

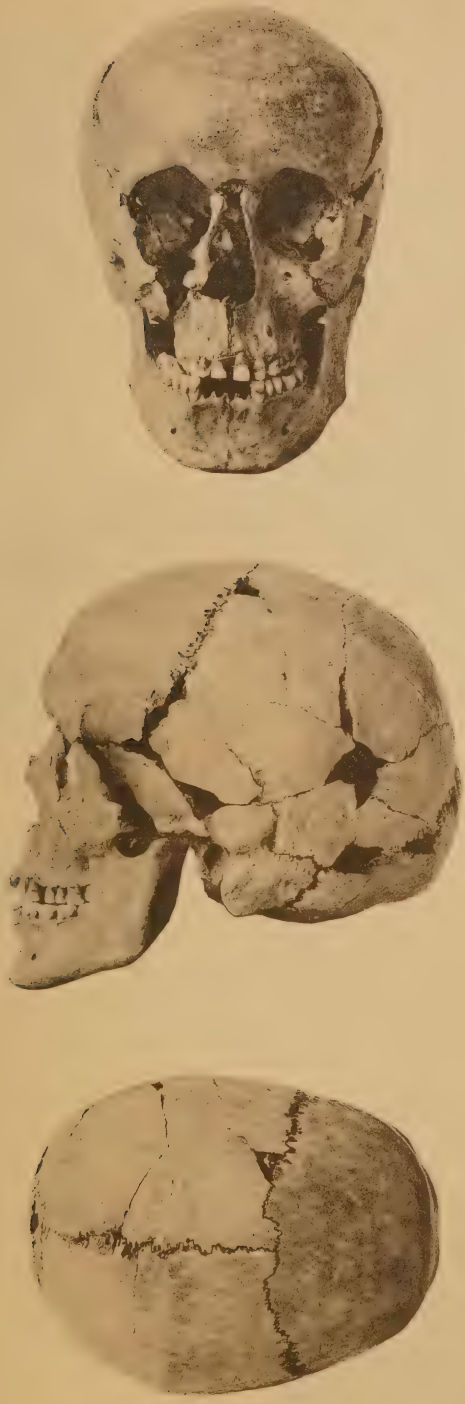
The skull.
2 blade bones.
2 parts of collar-bones.
19 vertebræ and portions of others.
19 parts of ribs.
1 right tibia.
1 left humerus.
1 left ulna.
1 left radius.
1 part of pelvis.
3 wrist bones.
15 finger bones.
5 bones of foot.

Total 71 out of about 200 bones of which the human body is composed, so that a large number have been destroyed or lost.

It will be remarked that the remains, such as they are, are in a remarkable state of preservation, the skull although fragile, and the bones generally showing little evidence of decay; the teeth being such as might well give rise to a feeling of envy in the present generation. Their antiquity, however, cannot well be open to doubt when it is remembered that, partly associated with them in the same trench, and generally under like conditions in the same quarry, there have been found the many relics of Romano-British age to which attention has been called.

In burials of this early period various articles are commonly present, but although search was made nothing of the kind was found

Dr Beddoe having kindly examined the skull as well as the principal bones, and contributed notes thereon, which follow this paper, it is unnecessary to say more about them here than to express our great obligation to him for his valuable assistance so readily given when suffering from indisposition. It may be remarked, however, that the views of Dr. Beddoe



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SKULL FOUND AT RADSTOCK.

as to the colossal size of the skull and its probable Roman origin are quite in accordance with the surroundings amongst which the remains were found.

Before concluding these notes, it should be added that the deposits in which all these remains have been found would appear to deserve further and more systematic investigation than they have hitherto had. The fact that they are no longer confined to occasional refuse pits, but are found in what may have been ancient lines of entrenchment, tends to show that the earthworks which still exist on two sides of the ground may once have extended all round it, thus completing what now appears to be a very defective fortification. And just as General Pitt Rivers found similar trenches rich in ancient remains, so it might prove in the present case. It may be outside the scope of the Bristol and Gloucester Society, but it may be commended to the Bath Branch of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society, which is doing excellent work in its own sphere of operations, and would find here a fitting object for investigation.

REPORT ON MR. McMURTRIE'S RADSTOCK CRANIUM.

By DR. BEDDOE, LL.D., F.R.S.

The following are the measurements of the skull in millimetres. It has been well restored where broken, and the figures may be fairly well depended on.

Lengths.—Clabello-max., 205; Fronto-inial, 191; Clabello-inial, 192; Ophryo-max., 204; Upper Facial, 73.

Breadths.—Frontal-min., 103; Stephanic, 130; Zygomatic, 120?; Auricular, 108; Maximum, 154 (parietal); Mastoid, 128; Asterial, about 120; External Orbital, 106?

Height.—Basio-bregmatic, 152, which is also the maximum.

Circumference, 575; Sagittal Arc, 143—294 (including post-parietal wormian bone, 383—426); Transverse Arc, 352 to upper edge of meatus and in position, or 364 to the centre of meatus across bregma; Foramen, 39 × 29; Basio-nasial, 108; Basio-alveolar, 103.

Indices.—Cranial-Latit[1],		75.1.	Dolicho-meso.
	Altit[1],	74.1.	
	Orbital,	100.	
	Nasal,	45.6.	Leptorhine.

Capacity, estimated:—

Beddoe .. 5	2175.	
Manouvrier .. (Flower)	2037	(divisor 230).
Pelletier	2049	(Ear-height taken at 135).
Pearson—G.F. ..	1944.	
Do. 10 bis ..	1888.	(Ear-height, 135).
Do. P. & L.	1833.	
Do. Basibreg	1813.	

Manouvrier's and Pelletier's are probably most correct. Beddoe's is doubtless too large, owing to the enormous length of the sagittal arc, and the shortness of the lower occipital.

Pearson's plans are always too small for large skulls. The average modern Englishman has a capacity, it is believed, a little below 1500. This skull is much too large to be estimated from the tables of Welcker, in which measurements so great were not contemplated!

Long Bones.—No femur preserved, unfortunately, but Right Tibia, 383 mms.; Left Humerus, 325; Left Radius, 233; Left Ulna, 255. *Stature, as deduced from the mean of these bones, may have been,* by Manouvrier's plan, 1649; by Pearson's, 1653 (5 feet 4.9 inches, or 5 feet 5.1 inches). By the tibia alone it would be *5 feet 6.5 inches.*

In the norma verticalis this skull presents a very regular oval; in the norma lateralis a great elevation, especially just about the bregma. Glabella prominent. Cerebellar region full, but inio-opisthial part of occipital very short (45 mms.). Stephanic region full, but zygomatic probably very narrow. Orbits very large and high. *Features rather delicate,* and bones not thick or heavy. Teeth good, and not ground down. An adult, but not in advanced life.

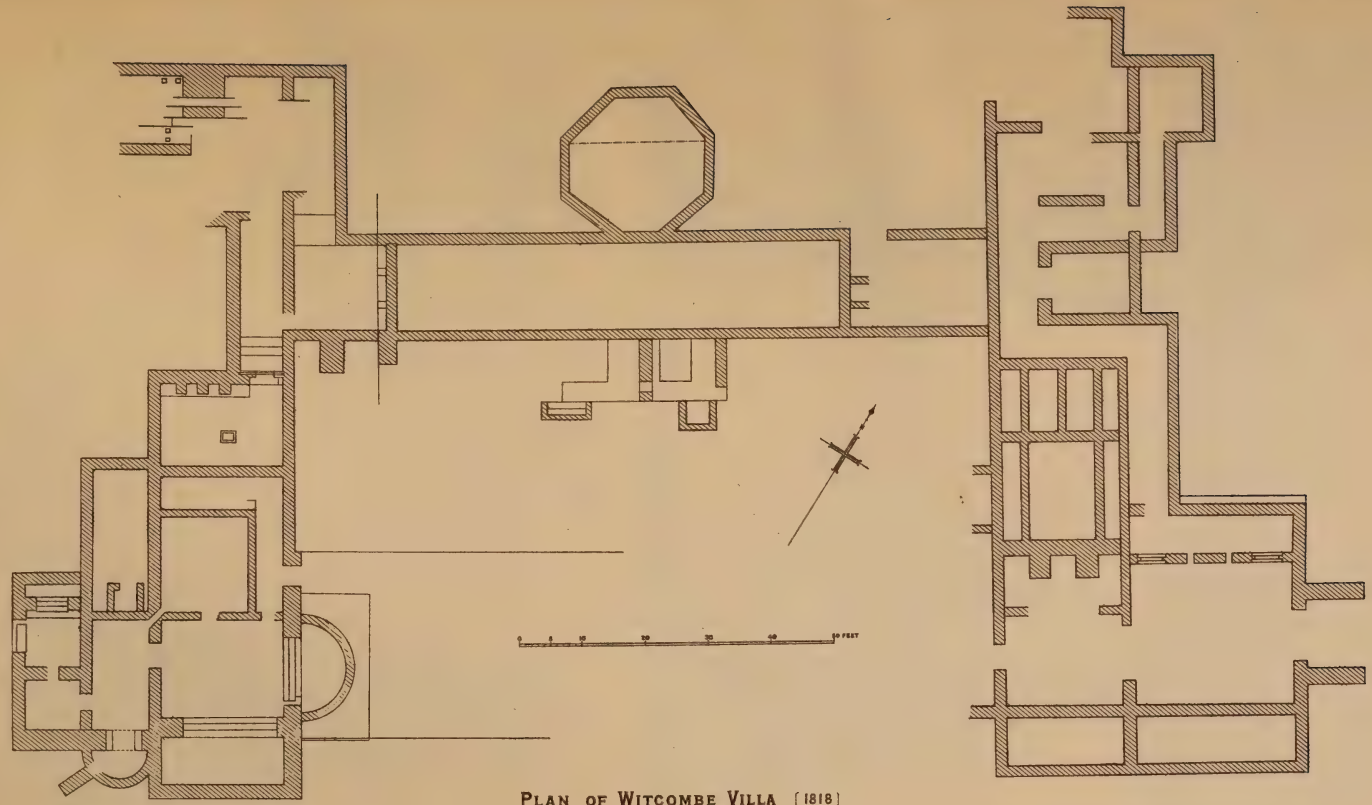
The colossal size of the skull does not arise from great bodily development, the stature being moderate, and the bones well-formed, and not thick or clumsy. The whole aspect is that of a civilised man. The type is, in my opinion, Roman rather than British; indeed, it has a distinct likeness to some undoubtedly Roman skulls, such, for example, as that of Julius Cæsar.

WITCOMBE VILLA.

A Paper read by W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY
(*President of the Society*),
at the Guildhall, Gloucester, on February 3rd, 1908.

I fear that the Secretary of our Society has asked me (and I appreciate the honour) to do a rather difficult thing. It is to talk to you for the best part of an hour on a local subject, and with especial reference to Witcombe Villa, near Brockworth; that is, about the villa by the remains of which the Society has been endeavouring to do a solid duty, namely replacing the fallen sheds (which hitherto protected the mosaic pavements and baths discovered by Lysons in 1818) by more lasting structures. I feel I must, having no slides to enliven my demonstration by, crave every indulgence it is in your power to give.

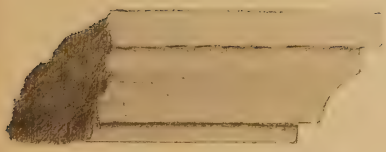
For it is positively tantalising to reflect how easy the whole matter might be for us had there turned up, in the course of the repairs, a single good inscription belonging to any one of the several successive proprietors of that villa, giving, as such inscriptions usually do, his names, place of origin, date of tenure, &c.; or, still better by far for us, had there come to light (say, in Spain or in Brittany) a batch of letters from an official in Roman Britain addressed to his wife in Gaul, just describing the easy stages of a ride along one of our great high-roads. We might picture such an official journeying from Londinium, via Calleva (or Silchester) and Spinæ (Speen), bent on a three-night or week-end sojourn with the Governor of Corinium, and thence passing onward to the country-seat of a hospitable kinswoman at Witcombe, whose husband (let us assume) happened to be a local magnate of Glevum, and bearing with him dispatches for the prefect of the legion at Caerleon (Isca Silurum).



PLAN OF WITCOMBE VILLA (1818)
GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(After Lysons) ST CLAIR BADDELEY.

HYPOCAUST, AS FOUND TO-DAY.



FRAGMENT OF A CORNICE.

L "TURNED" COLUMN.

WITCOMBE VILLA.

Every sentence of such letters, however ill-worded, would probably be worth (to students of Romano-British life under the Empire) its weight in diamonds. And we, down here in Gloucestershire, should all feel that we possessed once and for ever in our midst one of the most interesting sites in Europe, a bit of ground in human interest almost as rich as a section of Pompeii. Such a treasure would illuminate, as with an electric flash, the long-obscured, the silent centuries, and would once more bring us face to face with the very form and pressure of civil and military life here, say, in the third century A.D.

After our imagined traveller had jotted down what he had witnessed, or enjoyed, at those well-known towns, it is likely he might rather annoy us by belittling them as compared with the larger and more luxurious cities of his native Gaul. He might declare the life here to be less piquant and the climate far less brilliant than over there, although he might be hoping for more lively entertainments up at the northern wall, or "Vallum," whither he was presently bound. Yet equally he might confess that the Romano-British estates and houses (though none of them much above a century old, and often inferior in extent to those over the water), were occasionally both large and comfortable in their appointments, and set in extremely beautiful situations. Gaul, it should be recalled, was a more prosperous province than Britain.

Let us, then, for the sake of drawing closer to the subject, take him to have written that he had travelled on horseback in company of two friends along a certain great line of road from Corinium on a genial summer morning, making for the town of Glevum, upon the "territorium" or official property-boundary of which they had already entered when, at the brow of what we call the Cotteswold escarpment, that town and the river-vale came into their view. There, while dismounting to breathe their horses before the sharp descent, our traveller had suddenly been made aware by his companions that the beautiful villa of his kinswoman, Volusia, and Vitalis, her husband, was the one he could now descry enthroned on the opposite side of

the deep emerald hollow beneath their gaze, rich with wheat-fields below it and with green pastures above—a sight difficult to forget. That, then, was to be his happy lodging for a couple of nights and days. Indeed, it did not belie the rather enthusiastic description he had been given at the provincial governor's table at Corinium, where, of course, it was well known. For the social standing of his kinswoman, its owner, had been a good one there before she married a wealthy municipal magistrate and senator of Glevum, the descendant of a Gallic veteran in Agricola's army. The lady, although unable to boast so many family honours as her husband, had also come of a family that was well-to-do on these same hills when the un-Romanised Dobuni possessed them, whose language the peasants still talked, although broad Latin alone was to be heard in the villa, and at all stations along the road.

It was not difficult for him to note, even at that distance above it, that the villa was laid out in a superior style, being set above a wide colonnaded court and gardens ; on each side of which rose a subordinate group of buildings—doubtless the baths on one side and the service rooms upon the other. Besides, spotted about in the valley he could detect several elaborate outbuildings and much cattle feeding on either side of the long white line of dusty main road speeding direct like a stretched thread or an arrow to well-walled Glevum, with its towers overlooking the Sabrina and the green lowlands beyond that. We may, therefore, leave him descending Birdlip Hill.

Now this mere bit of rough "sketching-in" will, perhaps, serve (in lack of its original) sufficiently well to bring us to the consideration of the villa in Britain, and what it was. And also of the region in Britain to which villas appear to have been limited by the political vicissitudes of the country, or province, throughout imperial days.

For there are large tracts of Northern and Western Britain where no villas, at least built of stone and tile, ever were. For instance, there are no traces of villas north of Aldborough

(Isaurium), just above York. There are none west of Llantwit, in Glamorganshire, or Wroxeter (Uriconium) in Shropshire. Roman roads are there ; Roman camps and Roman stations, at regular intervals, are there ; but there are no villas. Where the villas are not all was under a strict military regime.

This is of serious topographical value. For it indicates clearly the regions where trustworthy security prevailed. It comes, therefore, to this—that the villa, wheresoever it occurs, is the sure token of the tranquil condition of the Romanised peoples of certain areas of Britain under imperial rule. The villa makes its appearance only in the non-military districts of the province. It is the peaceful outcome of a century and more of perfected Romanisation. There is no villa in Britain of which the remains have yielded constructive evidences that can be dated earlier than the first quarter of the second century A.D. ; while most of the villas can be proven to belong to a considerably later period—that is, to the only really prosperous conditions of the province during the third and fourth centuries. Does it not follow from this that they must have crept very warily out of their nearest town-centres ?

The reason for this is, perhaps, not hard to divine. We hear little indeed about Britain from the historians of the second century ; and the little they do say points to grave disturbances, or outbreaks, throughout the Antonine Age—a condition of things unfavourable to the security of country estates, or at least to the safety of permanently built villas. Or, again, it may have been that strong fortifiable villas were not encouraged or permitted by the rulers, perhaps for political prudence, sake. That there were villas of timber construction, which became the immediate parents of the later and more durable ones of stone and brick, I shall have cause to infer later on.

But before the development of villas, at any rate, there were the Romanised cantonal centres, and there were the military stations along the chief roads, themselves potentially centres of development.

As far as the extent of modern Gloucestershire is concerned, we are all familiar with the main road and its two Romano-British towns (Corinium and Glevum). It is exceptionally rich in villa remains, of which about fifteen are known by their sites. If we multiply this by 2½ times, we shall probably not much exceed the number of villas its area once knew. And we may reckon that between them they controlled 130,000 acres, in addition to the land held by the two towns.

It is possible, however, that some of these villas and their land lay within the "territorium" officially granted to the larger of these towns. This is even probable, seeing how near the Hucclecote "villa" lay to Glevum. Unfortunately, we possess no means of determining the extent of the "territorium" owned by Glevum, when, while only an incipient Romano-British town, it was granted the much-coveted title of Colonia, and veterans of the army were granted land there, with the "jus Italicum" or full Roman rights. The discovery, in the hypocaust of the Painswick Villa, in 1902, of tiles stamped with the "Glevum" token of R.P.G. (Republica Glevensium), as Mr. Haverfield noticed to me at the time, rather prompts the question whether these "territoria" may not have been extended on to that hill—the same whence Glevum probably drew the stone for her public buildings? Yet it could scarcely be safe to assume that. The owner of the Painswick Villa may have received his bricks in return for quarried stone.

No similar evidence is unfortunately to be deduced from the bricks of Witcombe Villa. They bear no stamps, and they may have been made on that estate. At the villas at Bisley and at Chalford (Brownshill) the tiles bear stamped letters more suggestive of connection with Corinium than with Glevum.

And here (it being manifest how nearly related the villas must always have been to their market town and centre) it will not be travelling outside my subject if I attempt to convey to you an idea of the growth of Glevum and its life as a Romano-British town of prime importance in the south-west.

For though the subject is not exactly new, the archæology of Roman Britain has been on the move forward, and points of view adopted very generally until only the other day have given way to others, as no doubt these in turn will be subject to modifications as time goes on.

Even in one of the most recently-circulated county books I notice that the same old misreading of the passage in the *Annals of Tacitus* is served up once more, by which Ostorius, in the year A.D. 47, is made to have set a scientific chain of camps between the Bristol Avon and the Severn, all along the Cotswold escarpment, in order to overthrow the Silures; a thing which most certainly he never did. As long as this very inadequate conception of the magnitude of the Roman military operations prevails there can be no possible understanding of their tactics or gauging their practised intelligence, and there will be apt to arise a very great misunderstanding of the numerical forces at the disposal of the enemy. I will, therefore, briefly advert to the real reading of the corrupt passage in *Tacitus*, as advanced in 1883 by Mr. Henry Bradley, fully accepted by Mommsen, and since by every student of Romano-British history.

This passage was formerly rendered to mean that a string of camps had been placed by that commander in the position referred to. The words "Castris Antoam" should have been "cis Trisantonam," thus making the whole passage:—"cunctosque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat," which is, indeed, a different matter altogether, and on a becoming scale! It will be remembered that "Antoam" was supposed to mean the Bristol Avon. There is really no allusion to the Avon, or to "castris"—that is, forts or camps—at all. It simply says that the general prepared to secure all the country south of the Severn and the Trehanta, or Trent. That is a large sweeping operation including all our hills and the river itself, from Staffordshire downwards. To have made a frontier of the Cotswolds would not have appealed to a Roman bent on conquering an entire country, and that at most but

a small province. The few camps in the Cotswolds that are Roman can be accounted for sufficiently without travelling back even to the first or second centuries of Roman rule.

We know in the possession of what Brythonic tribe the Cotswold region then lay; and that not only it owned an important tribal centre at Kings Holm (now included in Gloucester), but that the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was subject to the "Cattivellauni," a more powerful people. Consequently, when the Cattivellauni surrendered as they did to Ostorius, the Dobuni, such as were then subjects, gave way too. The silence of the historians of the campaign as to any resistance whatever on the part of the Dobuni should be satisfactory evidence in the case. Yet it is necessary to look very closely for a moment at the position of this divided tribe —as regards their Roman invaders. For it follows, almost to a certainty, that the portion of the Dobuni not subject to the Cattivellauni was the less accessible portion, and that the reason of its non-subjection was partly because it occupied the land west of the Severn, in fact, it was the conquering part of the tribe, which had driven forward the Silures. Probably their frontier was already the River Wye.

Now let us see what was the Roman objective. Certainly it was no vague and unthought-out campaign; nothing involving waste of force or loss of time. From every point of view, we must take it that the possession of the Severn and its mouth on both banks was the natural Roman objective. The mouth of the Severn and the land on both sides of it had to be appropriated and secured before a campaign should be undertaken against the Silures, and above them against the more formidable hold of Druidism in North Wales. Tacitus expressly tells us that Ostorius carried on war in the Severn lands. That was before the year A.D. 51; and as the Brythonic Dobuni were natural enemies to the Silures beyond the Wye, it is probable that, after perhaps a brief resistance, the former were used (whether willingly or not) by the conqueror against them. For we must not for a moment forget that the Brythonic-Celtic

tribes had themselves been conquerors of the older Goidels, and also of the aborigines, and that the Roman had found them already settled in possession fully two-thirds across Southern Britain, when as the superior conqueror he displaced them, and set about Romanising their cantons, after the manner he had observed in Gaul. In or about the year 50–51 Ostorius, we are told, actually planted the legions among the Silures (Bk. xii. 32); and he deprived of arms all people whom he considered doubtful. This makes it certain that he had settled the Dobuni.

It is true that Nodens (whose shrine was at Lydney) may have been a divinity of the Silures. He may, however, have been common to them and their conquerors, the Dobuni. But that would not preclude the possibility of the sacred spot having already come into the possession of the Dobuni. By the appropriation of Caer Glouw, or Glevum, and their subsequent march forward across the Forest of Dene lands, Lydney and all the land east of the Wye down to Chepstow would be in possession of the Roman legions. As the Dobuni, moreover, had up till then coined gold and silver coins, we may take it that their possession of these Severn lands and the river and sea trade was not a recent one. It was possibly a century or more old. In addition, as their coins bore the names of their chiefs with the adoption of the word "Rex," from the Latin, upon them, we may gather that we have certainly underrated the advanced nature of the Dobunic civilisation, as well as the force of pre-conquest Roman influence among the Brythonic Celts of lower Britain. Perhaps this enables us to understand better what Tacitus has called the eagerness manifested by them for Romanisation, while is also a proof that they were ripe for it. For tribes live by custom and ritual, down even to minute details, and they are universally conservative. They also live by military superiority to their neighbours. Their chief care is, therefore, their war-footing and their religious observances. But possessing stamped coins (which the Silures

had not) it is certain that the Dobuni were advanced traders.

As such, therefore, it is obvious that they were not in a primitive or stationary condition of metallic civilisation, but in a progressive one. They were thus far more adaptable to innovation and co-operativeness than their less civilised neighbours, and likely to fully recognise the superiorities of the Romans. As military resistance to their own invaders would have been hopeless to but half a tribe thus advanced in civilisation, let us briefly note what advantages Roman rule (provided not too tyrannically pressed) placed before them.

For, without question, it offered not a few. It offered both military and civil institutions superior in all respects to their own. It offered or imposed compulsory peace. It offered a regular system of administration of justice. It promised extension of trade and territorial compensation for services; while as regarded religion, that all-important point, it was the known observance of the Roman to respect the shrines and divinities of the subject peoples, with the one exception of politico-theological Druidism. Conquest or surrender to the Roman invaders to such people as the Dobuni, it is clear, was not without its compensations, if not its obvious advantages.

To return to Glevum itself—say from A.D. 51–65—the new fortified town being created by the legionaries was at first no more nor less than a powerful military station, established for strategic purposes upon the Severn; next to the tribal-centre Caer Glou (or "Glevidunum," as the name probably was, before it dropped into shorter "Glevum.") Around this, native and other traders, as well as interested native allies, settled both for protection and for business, all sharing interests in common, for the rapid settlement of the country. As time went on, and organisation developed more and more with the road-making, this population (allowed to retain most of their own customs under Roman administration) became duly absorbed, and gradually picked up the Latin speech,

and more rapidly the Gallo-Roman costume. Until the complete subjugation of the Silures about the year 75 A.D. the reinforcements of the Second Legion may have been raised at and around Glevum. Between A.D. 58 and 61 successful expeditions against them under Quintus Veranius are recorded; and that commander, in his last will, informed the Emperor Nero that, if he should survive, he expected within two years to entirely subdue (western) Britain. Every success against this really troublesome little foe hastened the development of Glevum, and it is to this period, of course, that the origin of Romano-British Carwent and Carleon (Venta and Isca, Silurum) belongs. No doubt there occurred temporary "set backs"; but by the year A.D. 76 the Silures were finally conquered under Frontinus, and before the close of the century the Emperor Nerva rewarded the time-expired veterans of the legions at Glevum by advancing their town settlement to the coveted status of a Roman "Colonia," in precisely the same manner as had been done at Colchester (Camelo Dunum). The time-expired soldier required, nay exacted, proper provision. His settlement on the soil and marriage, with a grant of land exempt from certain taxes, proved a means for rapidly extending the desired Romanisation. The inducement to settlers was greatly emphasised by such an act, and the climatic conditions, in any case, were milder here than in northern Gaul, or even in eastern Britain.

But we must not be under the impression that Glevum yet possessed her stone six-foot precinct wall, far less that the time for building isolated stone or permanent brick villas had yet arrived. Perhaps even within the town itself only the public buildings, such as the Basilica and the temple of Augustus, were yet of stone; the rest of the town, as became a well-timbered locality, was built expertly enough by native workmen of wood. More than a century before that date Julius Cæsar had referred to the excellence of Celtic joinery in Gaul. The kinsfolk here in Britain seem to have been no whit their kinsmen's inferior. Later on we find British joiners actually

deported to Gaul itself for the purpose of building timbered structures there, at Augustodunum (Autun).

Meanwhile, the great trunk roads here were being steadily extended westward and northward, while the old southern native trackway from Aquæ Sulis, or Sul (our Bath), was treated to scientific pavement and solid repairs. As long as Glevum was little more than a Roman military centre, civilians had been forbidden to dwell within her, though they might flock to her market, or forum, at stated hours. These traders and others dwelt in lines of wooden huts or "cannabæ" (*i.e.* cabins) clustering like martins' nests around her, but leaving her four gates free. When, however, the purely military regime became probably unnecessary, these out-dwellers obtained corporate recognition, saddled, however, equally with those who dwelt within the trenches or ramparts, with perhaps vexatious contributions, according to their status, to the local and provincial revenues, both in corn, wool, or other merchandise, and they found themselves governed by an official caste as before, yet with both further regulations and greater privileges, all calculated, however, to mould the town as it grew, into harmony with the central government of the empire. For uniformity was the iron policy of Rome.

As to the "territorium" granted to Glevum, and which presumably stretched around on every side of her, it is probable that its delimitation by official measures (or Agrimensorers) did not prevent its further extension, if need and official favour permitted. The Roman rights, or "Jus Italicum," which as a corporation Glevum received, implied that her inhabitants were to be free from ordinary land-taxation, but it did not imply their immunity from war-indemnities (stipendia), or perhaps, at first, from the payment of the Colonist, or husbandman-farmer of a tithe (decuma) of the produce of the given land. The gauging of the resources of that land, and of the personal wealth of its remoter inhabitants must have afforded plentiful employment to the lawyers who followed the military. Besides, there were to be paid the port-dues

(portoria), revenues from mines, quarries and the like. There was doubtless a bureau in Glevum where all such assessments were registered, and kept by a comptroller of taxes. The collectors were held responsible at Rome for any deficit, and the municipalities of the towns were held responsible for the collectors. It is not unlikely that the repeated troubles which disturbed Britain during Hadrian's and the three reigns following his were chiefly due to maladministration of the taxes; and were therefore not so much tribal, as provincial revolts. We do not hear for certain whether such outbreaks affected our part of Britain. But if they did, it would to no little extent account for the fact that in a stone and timber district like this of Glevum there was so very little progress in villa-building of a permanent character.

A "Colonia," then, stood for a special form of local government in a Roman province. It connected a military organisation with a power of raising recruits, yet in the shape of a civil and privileged community having a radiative Romanising power. For such an organic centre as this there was but one direct model, and that was Rome herself. All the institutions of such a town, civil and religious, were by consequence intimately related to the one and supreme centre. But probable no one thing so forcibly gave representative life to this town as the institution of the worship of the divinity of the Cæsars. This was established by means of guilds of freedmen, called "Augustales." This body spread the imperial cultus throughout the province. As Professor Greenidge expresses it: "The worship of Augustus by granting the 'insignia' and certain proud moments in which their possessors appeared to dazzling effect before the public eye, compensated for the loss of privileges which the law withheld." These Augustales were not priests like the Flamines and Sacerdotes, but were merely a civic order wearing certain "insignia," the "prætexta" and "fasces," which they displayed in the performance of their official duties. To the provincial mind Cæsar was a remote but very real incarnation

of (supreme) wisdom and order. The Augustales voiced the new nationality and loyalty of the Romano-British province.

Secure, then, from the Silurian attacks of former days, we may picture Glevum of the second century as a regular oblong town covering about forty-five acres of ground, fortified on all sides by the original "vallum," or bold mound (perhaps a double one) and the Sabrina, or Severn, additionally protecting the long western side.

The natural divisions of the Roman camp by means of roads passing through it at right angles was retained in the growing town, the four quarters subdividing themselves into "insulæ" (or square blocks) of wooden houses opening on to alleys: while the public buildings gradually were becoming translated from wood into stone, as well as here and there the houses of certain private owners. Somewhere just outside it there was probably a bull-ring, in which the white wild cattle of the country were baited on festival days, together with boars (and perhaps wolves) by the powerful mastiff dogs, for which breed Britain was already famous in Europe. In due time baths and porticoes had obtained in every town of importance: and according to Tacitus, even the delicacies of the table, as well as the toga and collared-cloak were to be found everywhere: although it is probable the well-to-do native sported finely-coloured tunics fastened by rich Celtic enamelled brooches, which we know had owned none of their beauty of design to the art of Rome.

Let us, therefore, in fancy glance for a moment at the market, or forum, of Glevum, and see what variety of articles is being sold. The first stall happens to be a metal-smith's, where there are seen tweezers, sword-handles and blades, bronze lamps and bowls, small spoons, steel-yards, bodkins and brooches. Hard by the fruit vender is dealing prosperously in apples, medlars, bullaces and sloes, and a certain sort of nuts: dyed wool and cloth and skins catch the eye as we turn a corner and come before a fish-stall. Here is a representative corner; for everyone eats fish. Oysters abound, tench, trout, lampreys;

and salmon and shad are there, but are rapidly disappearing to purchasers. In the next lane we notice quantities of objects made of horn, and bone combs, knife-handles, cups and needles ; then next it is a stall full of pottery and mortars of all qualities, both British and Romano-British, and imported Ballic : leather goods : harness, and saddles, and shoes ; finally, glass wares, and small votive-offerings for suspension in temples. In fact, there is great variety of goods, and both sexes are exceedingly busy examining and bargaining ; for the rather muddy and smelly streets are full of life. Here and there among the crowd is seen a soldier of the Second Legion (on leave from Isca Silurum) among his kindred ; and again, here and there, a swarthy small Silurian or so, his former foes. By this time the second great Welsh road was nearly completed. It was that one (now called Sarn Helen) descending from Conovium (Conway) to Nidum (Neath) on the coast of Carmarthenshire, by which all Wales was to become held as in a vice, not only from outbursts from within, but safeguarded from the not infrequent invasions of the piratical Iberic folk out of the south of Ireland, against whom (as much as against the said Silures) the Severn, and its ferry and its fisheries had long been secured both by watch-towers and by coast-guards. It was for this reason that the Second Legion did not change its position, but remained strategically fixed at Isca (Caerleon) for good and all. It held safe the coast ; it provided for the protection of the foreign trade ; and besides, kept the native clans and races in order.

The position of Glevum, therefore, in the second century is seen to have become that of a western provincial emporium, from which Romano-British roads radiated in most directions, ; and with such a system of communications, no combination of native malcontents could hope to oppose corresponding offensive forces, unless by rare chance the military became temporarily withdrawn or relaxed in discipline.

There, consequently, arises the rather pertinent question : If such was the condition of things, how is it that we find Glevum

and Corinium and Carwent to have become elaborately walled round and securely gated, as though to enable each of thees towns to withstand siege? Surely the Irish and the Silures together could scarcely have dreamed of attacking such places!

The reply to this question is that these walls (however theoretically economical) were not made until even a much later day, possibly not until the days of the civil wars in the third century, when a Romanised Celtic leader, like the vigorous Carausius (a born genius, if an adventurer), set himself up and was largely accepted as emperor, and boldly cut Britain temporarily apart from the empire—a most critical and interesting development in British history. It was in vain that armies and fleets were sent out against him by the actual Emperor Maximianus. The latter at last was compelled to acknowledge Carausius for colleague, and to accept his coinage. Later on Carausius was basely slain by Allectus, who set up similar pretensions and coined his own coins, until Constantius Chlorus finally overcame him, and restored the revolted province to Rome. It is quite possible that Haresfield and Sodbury, Conderton, and Shenbarrow camps may all belong to this late date. No early coins occur among all those found in them, but chiefly those of Carausius, Allectus, and the Constantines. But the abundance of "minimi," or very small pieces, assures us of the trade—convenience for which this medium had been found needful. "This is the period," says Professor Haverfield, "which must have seen the greatest extension of Romano-British rural life, and then, we may think, the villas were most definitely occupied. The period was a fragment of a happy age for Britain. It can be no accident that the farm and country-house of the province were the most numerous, and, as it seems, the most fully inhabited." (*Victoria Hist., Co. Somerset*, p. 299.)

And now I can turn back to our noble villa at Witcombe; for it is, in all probability, to a rather earlier date than even this that it owes its origin; and doubtless at that date it was in its full glory.

Nor is it to be overlooked, while so doing, that at a distance of under twelve miles southward of it there had already, before its own date, been flourishing one country-seat still more magnificent in every respect, namely at Woodchester, probably to be dated to the middle of the second century. It is strange that Woodchester Villa should seem to have antedated all others in the Cotswolds by so long a time, an exception as it were. But, of course, had Britain earlier proved more attractive and prosperous as a residence to wealthy Gauls or retiring officials of rank, such villas would have multiplied. To all appearance they did not multiply; and Britain (we know) did not pay. Therefore Woodchester would seem to stand for a bold second-century pioneer, which was not imitated until much later in any neighbouring district. For this reason it stands very much alone among Romano-British villas, both in its proportions and the beauty of its details.

The great push given to the development of country villa-building perhaps resulted from the visit of Severus and Caracalla early in the third century, and more especially from the grant by the latter of the Roman franchise to all free inhabitants of the empire.

At that period, then, we may safely picture the wealthy owner of some thousands of fertile acres stretching on both sides of the Ermin street along its last section from Corinium to Glevum, replacing an extensive timbered farmhouse, or manor-hall, with the beautiful brick, stone and marble courtyard villa that stood at Witcombe.

What that antecedent manor-hall was like we can only conjecture from circumstantial evidence. That the ground-plan may have (in small) in certain cases resembled the later villa is at least likely for this reason: the villas in Britain are not Italian in their outlay, however Italian in some of their details. They constitute a type exemplified only in northern Gaul. They are Celtic mansions modified by Roman influences. It must be recalled that the stone columns invariably found in them—cap, collar and shaft all made in one piece—are not of

Italian type at all. They have been turned in lathes. They are, in fact, direct translations, just as so many marble statues in our museums are translations from bronze originals, from wood into stone. Hence we may conclude that the rural villas in their primary condition in this island were no more than presentable colonial timber-houses, having verandahs carried upon low wooden columns of the very same kind as later on were "turned" in local stone.

There were few exceptions in Britain wherein was used the far more precious imported marble.

Fortunately, in Witcombe Villa we have precisely one of these exceptions. For when Lysons excavated a considerable portion of this villa in 1818 he expressly mentions that in addition to the mosaic pavements and other proofs of the grade of the villa, he found fragments (now at Witcombe Park) of cornices of white marble. A fragment of one is still preserved at Witcombe Park. These may have decorated a small shrine, perhaps, rather than the dwelling-house.

Now to have been present in this villa, these cornices must perforce have been carried on caps and columns of the same beautiful material. What, then, we ask, has become of these? Lysons certainly did not find them, that anyone knows of. We have no record of them further. It is true also that he did not excavate the entire villa. The columns (as so often has been the case) may well have been broken up, or carried off for lime, long before his time. But I venture to think I know where the capitals are. And they are as beautiful for their period as any that exist in England, and quite the most perfectly preserved Romano-British objects in this county.

Three of these, of the Ionic order (and of Belgian marble), were found buried in the garden of Paradise House, at Painswick, more than forty years back, and one of them, painted red at the time (or but a little later), was used until only the other day as a stilt for a fountain in a pond on the lawn there. Eight years ago, finding them to be not only of Roman make, and very good, but with all their mason's

setting-out lines still clear upon them, I persuaded my good neighbour, Mr. Hawkins Herbert, to draw the third one out of the said pond and place it honourably in his house. They are all three together now.

Now who procured these? Who, perhaps clandestinely, brought these fine Roman capitals to that neighbouring spot is not known. At the time they were found, in the sixties, the house and garden at Paradise belonged to some folk of the name of Cockayne, who, I believe, left a few years later. Did a member of the Hicks-Beach family ever temporarily reside at Paradise while Witcombe Park underwent repairs?

But people do not carry three heavy marble Ionic capitals of Roman make of the second or third centuries about with them; and I must leave you to conjecture, if you can do so, any other means of accounting for their presence at a small out-of-the-way residence in the hilly neighbourhood of this great villa. They certainly belonged to no Roman villa at Painswick itself; and no trace of marble material has been discovered at the Painswick Villa, a mile off on the opposite slope of Painswick Hill. We, therefore—unless we can reasonably appropriate them to Witcombe Villa—have to imagine some gentleman of the early nineteenth century who was in the habit of carrying some capitals of the second or third century about with him, and leaving them behind when he changed his abode.

In conclusion, let me, for a few moments, consider the household of the important unknown proprietor of Witcombe Villa, reminding myself that under the later Empire such personages exercised the full powers of municipal decuriones, or town councillors and justices.

Life went on in such a centre on a rather grand scale of organised labour. Such a mansion constituted a centre of civil law, husbandry, and social culture. As in the mediæval manor, the owner probably held the land immediately around the mansion as demesne, and let out the rest to tenants, while the

labour was done by half-serf "Coloni." But more we do not yet know.

Probably, like other proprietors of luxurious villas in his day here, he was served at table on abundant silver plate. A small but beautiful bronze statuette of Diana has decorated some favourite piece of his furniture. Coal was used in his fires and the furnaces for his baths; window-glass kept out the wind and damp. An ivory comb tells its tale of use.

In fine, such a rich house must have sheltered, in addition to the family priest, troops of servants, forming quite a little population. There were, besides the steward, the secretary and the amanuensis, the porter (or janitor), the "Hortulani" or gardeners, "arboratores" or woodmen, cooks, smiths, leather-workers, hairdresser, bathing-men, "custos vivarii" or keeper of the live-stock, the keeper of the dogs, and the "chauffeurs" for the furnaces, and the textores or weavers of household linen; while for the ladies' apartments there was a staff of "delicatæ" or housemaids.

The most beautiful rooms will have been the "tablinum" or library, the "triclinia" or summer and winter dining-halls, and the "lararium" or chapel. These, doubtless, crowning the uppermost level of the sloping ground occupied, looked down over successive terraces to the rich and beautiful valley, and across to Birdlip Hill, where (as we before hinted) the family might descry their approaching guest descending the brow of the hill on the most excellent of Romano-British roads.

Let us leave them to welcome him!

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MS. OF WILLIAM WORCESTRE.

Nasmith, p. 222.

Dallaway, p. 105.

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BRASS OF ROBERT LOND, IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

THE LOND OR LOUD BRASS IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

By C. E. BOUCHER, B.Sc.

This monument, which is said to be the finest brass of a priest now remaining in the city of Bristol, is the last of many that existed in this church. As late as the year 1789, the date when Barrett published his *History of Bristol*, there were still in the church "brass figures" to John Esterfield and his wives, and Andrew Norton and his wives, but these have long disappeared. No mention is made by Barrett of the brass which is the subject of this paper, and which is of beautiful design and workmanship.

The brass has engraved on it the figure of a priest vested in the Eucharistic vestments, and bearing in his hands a chalice and the Host.

The figure is 69.9 centimetres long and 20.8 centimetres wide at the broadest place, 10 centimetres at the head, and 18.8 centimetres wide just above the feet.[1] Underneath, on a separate piece of metal, 45.5 centimetres wide and 9 centimetres deep, is the inscription. The length of the hands is worthy of notice, the left one being 8.1 centimetres long and the right 8.5 centimetres.

The priest is represented wearing an amice, the apparel of which encircling the neck is visible above the chasuble; an albe with apparels at the wrists and skirt, beneath which protrude the feet shod in pointed shoes; a stole, fanon, and chasuble of the usual fifteenth-century pattern, a full and comely vestment coming to a point below the knees, and thrown back at the wrists to give freedom to the arms. The narrow-fringed stole and fanon and the apparels are all ornamented with a diaper of lozenges, in which are four-leaved flowers.

[1] Ten centimetres are nearly equal to four inches.

The chalice has a partly cylindrical bowl, supported by three beads, and the knob is ornamented with angular facets. The foot is octagonal. Over the chalice is represented the Host surrounded by a glory. Careful examination suggests that at some time or other the brass was enamelled, as the lines are wide and deeply incised, and the incisions are in many cases almost as wide at the bottom as they are at the top. The few particles of what appeared to be enamel left in the incisions were not sufficient in quantity to admit of their being analysed, but they were certainly neither wax nor resin. The disc representing the Host is deeply depressed, and still contains a dark material firmly adherent to the metal. It seems not unlikely that it was originally jewelled or enamelled to represent a wafer.

The brass shows signs of having been tampered with at some time or other. A small portion at the bottom of the albe on the right side is missing, and it was evidently joined on to the main portion by lead run under it. The same method was adopted for repairing the inscription, which has been broken in two, doubtless at the same time. The back is covered with pitch.

The stone, a heavy slab of Pennant, the edges of which are much worn, is not improbably the original one, and the matrix shows the extent of the missing portion of the albe.

For many years the brass was fixed in the floor of the chapel, at the east end of the south aisle, longitudinally east and west, and parallel with the cadaver that lay between it and the Newton monument; but some years ago, when the cadaver was hidden away in the corner where it now is, the brass was placed in the floor of the same chapel, west of the Newton tomb. In 1906 it was removed to the south side of the north-east pier of the tower, where it has been covered by a glazed oak frame, to preserve it from damage.

The inscription reads as follows:—"Hic iacet Magist. Robtus Lond capellanus qui obiit xxiii die ffebruarii anno dni millmo cccclxi cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen." Of the history of Robert Lond (or possibly Loud) we know little.

Barrett asserts that he was rector of the church in 1446; but without corroboration, and in view of the well-known inaccuracy of Barrett in such matters, it is necessary to receive this statement with caution, especially as he mentions that Hugh Pavis was rector in 1450, and according to Latimer, Thomas Stevens was still rector in 1446. The earliest mention of Lond that I can find is in the Great Orphan Book of Wills at the Council House, Bristol. In the will of Thomas Bewflour, dated September 18th, 1426, there is the following clause, "lego dno Robto Londe scolemaistre vjs. viijd.," showing that Robert Lond was a schoolmaster in 1426; and that this Robert Lond and the Lond of the brass are one and the same person is borne out by two very interesting statements in William Wyrcestre's *Itinerary*, the MS. of which is now in the possession of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. On MS. p. 95 we read:—

"At Newyate ubi quondam scola grammatica p*er* magistrum Robertum Land principalem didaschilum cum (?) . . . . Leyland magistro grammaticorum in oxonia dicebatur fuisse flos grammaticorum et poetarum temporibus annis plurimis revolutis et tempore quo primo veni ad oxoniam universitatem scolatizandi obiit in termino pasche anno christi 1432 circa mensem Junii quando generalis eclipsis die sancti Botulphi accidebat."[1]

Further on, p. 130 MS., is the following:—

"1469. Mr. Robert lond obiit grammaticus ville Bristoll die 23 ffebruarii."[2]

These extracts show that Robert Lond was a well-known schoolmaster or grammarian in Bristol between 1426 and 1469,

[1] This eclipse happened on St. Botolph's Day, June 17th, 1433. It was total at Inverness for four minutes and a half about three o'clock, and would have been a large partial eclipse in the south of England. The date in the manuscript is clearly 1432, and the old topographer has made a mistake.

[2] The date 1469 is inserted in the margin of the manuscript, and may not have been part of the original entry; it seems, however, to be in the same handwriting.

but this latter date is probably incorrect. It seems practically certain that the Master Robert Lond of the brass and Master Robert Lond the schoolmaster are one and the same person. The only discrepancy is in the date of death. Wyrcestre gives it as 1469, and the inscription on the brass is 1461. This latter is, no doubt, the proper one. The dates agree as to the month, day of the month, century and decade, and it is probable that Wyrcestre wrote it from memory, and made a mistake. He was not always accurate in such details. For example, in the first of the entries quoted he dates John Leyland's death four years later than it actually took place, and it was quite easy to make a slip of the pen in the figures 1469, the figure "9" not being unlike the figure "j"; or it is possible that on the brass the final x of the figure lxix was by accident omitted.

The last reference to Lond is in the Accounts of St. Ewen's for the year 1455-6 (published in *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv.). In a list of contributions towards the cost of a silver cross, is the following entry:—"Item of Mr Robert Lond iiiid."

It may, I think, be fairly concluded that the brass in St. Peter's was erected to the memory of a priest named Robert Londe, who was the master of a grammar school carried on for some years at Newgate, in St. Peter's parish. He seems to have been associated as a teacher with the celebrated John Leland, who carried on a very well-known grammar school in Peckwaters Inn, afterwards united with Vine Hall. This John Leland had a great reputation as a grammarian, which gave rise to the following line:—

"Ut Rosa flos florum sic Leland grammaticorum."

He was the author of several treatises on grammar, &c. He died in 1428, and was buried in the lady chapel of St. Frideswide's.

What time Lond left Oxford is not known. No university records of a date earlier than 1449 remain, and the college registers are few and imperfect. He came to Bristol some time

earlier than 1426. At his school, which was one of that great class of chantry grammar schools which existed all over England, it was doubtless true of him as of Leyland, that he taught not only the boys of noble parentage, but also the sons of the townspeople. The teaching would have been the customary instruction of the time—in grammar and the Roman authors, which the scholars had to construe probably in French as well as English. The masters, we are told, had to take care that their charges were daily instructed and chastised, to "see what was defective in them."

Lond is described in the inscription on the brass as capellanus. He must have been a chaplain in the church, and he had to perform the duties pertaining to the office, as well as those of master to the school. If the brass be in any way a faithful portrait, he was a tall, gentle-faced old man, with a high forehead and a dignified and striking face; and if this be a true index to his character, it is not unreasonable to presume that the respect in which he was held led to the erection over his remains of a monument like the one placed over those of his friend, John Leyland:—"et marmore epitaphium Latinum æreæ laminæ insculptum."

NOTE ON THE PRINTED TEXT OF WILLIAM WORCESTRE.

By Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

The photographs of the two passages from William Worcestre's manuscript included in Mr. Boucher's paper are not only interesting as giving actual specimens of the old antiquary's note-book, but they are very valuable because they enable us to test the accuracy of Nasmith's edition of the text.

On page 45 of Dallaway's edition [1] we find the following variations :—

Dallaway prints		Original.
grammaticum	for	Didaschi.
Leland	,,	leyland.
primum	,,	primo.
11 (*eleven*) ?	,,	ij (two).

In the passage on page 105,[2] Dallaway's edition varies from the true text in the following points :—

He omits the marginal note : Turris ecclie sti Jacobi.
,, ,, longitudo ecclie sti Audoeni.
,, ,, *sive* in line 6 of the photograph.
,, ,, latitudo ejus continet. (*St. Mary-le-port.*)

In the last complete line he prints *quatuor* in full for the half eight, and omits the word *panellas* over the erasure. He also omits the marginal note showing that the sentence refers to the windows in the over-storye of Redcliff Church.

The words *an di* 1469 are in the margin, not in the text,

[1] Nasmith, 178. [2] Nasmith, 222.

though Dallaway prints them as if they formed part of the text.

Thus there are no fewer than twelve variations from the true text in 45 lines, and these variations are not all slight or unimportant. No doubt it is true that the omitted words and passages give no actual information which is not given in the printed text, so that we lose no knowledge by their absence, but the substitution of *grammaticum* for Didaschilum is not a slight matter. It is true that the two words are intended to have the same meaning, but there is nothing to show how far this editorial substitution of one word for another has been carried, and the variation suggests a general suspicion of inaccuracy with regard to the printed text.

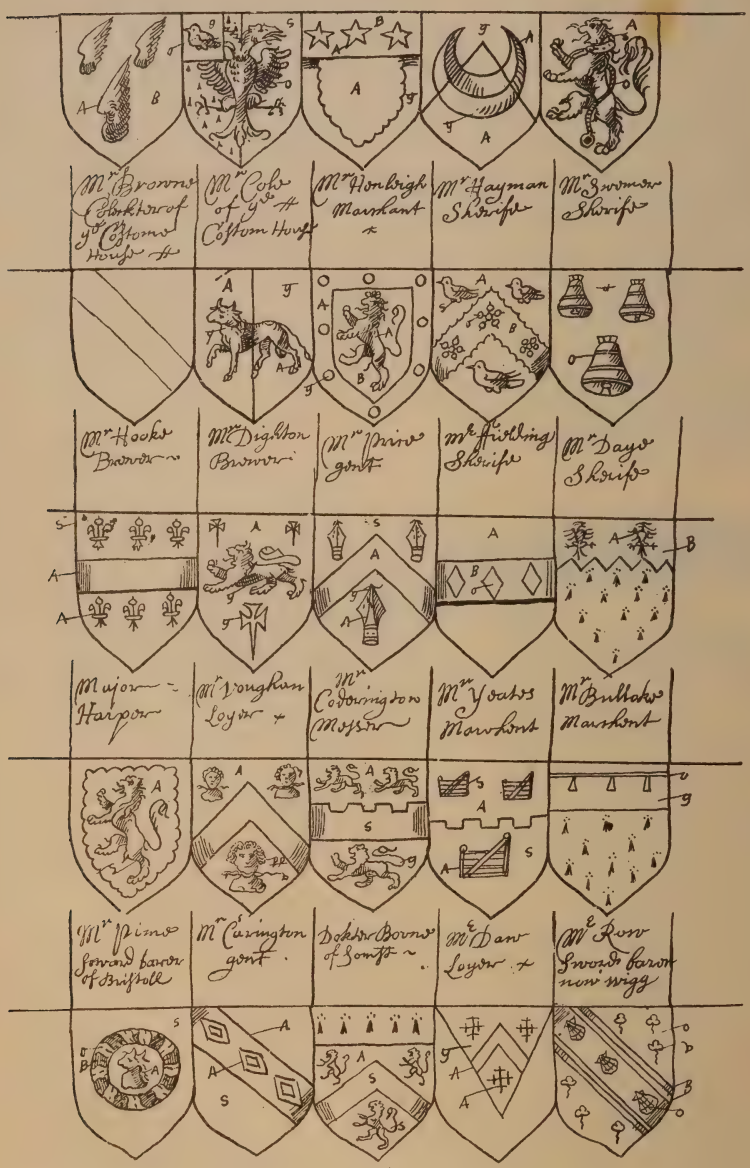
It seems likely that the insertion of the date 1469 in the text, instead of showing it as a marginal note, which is clearly the position which it occupies in the manuscript, is actually misleading. It is clear that the date of the death of Robert Lond as given on his brass was February 23rd, 1461. The entry in William Worcestre's text is only February 23rd; on the margin is written *an di* 1469, and it certainly seems likely that when the entry of the old priest's death was made Worcestre remembered the day of the month, but not the year of his death, and that afterwards he entered in the margin an incorrect date for the year. If this were so, error has been brought by the action of Nasmith into an entry which was at first correct so far as it went.

Dallaway's text is a reprint of the work of Nasmith so far as this related to Bristol, and it is clear that Nasmith did not profess to give an exactly accurate edition of Worcestre's notebook. What he said of himself is this: "I have preserved in my edition everything, whether of great or slight importance, which referred to history or topography, other matters I thought might be left out."[1] That is to say, that the editions

[1] "Omnia quidem in editione nostrâ retinuimus, quæ ad historiam vel topographiam pertinent, sive majoris sive minoris momenti, cætera omittenda duximus." (Dallaway, p. 22.)

of William Worcestre in common use cannot be regarded as complete or exact editions of his work, but are rather such extracts from that work as Nasmith thought it right to give. So that the text of these editions is affected by omissions and possible variations to an extent which is at present unknown, and which could only be ascertained by a careful collation of the original manuscript, or by the publication of an exact copy of the text.

The manuscript is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge. In form it is long and narrow, and it might easily have been slipped into the holster of a saddle, so that it is by no means unlikely that it formed the very note-book which the old traveller took with him on his journeys, and in which he entered his notes as he went along. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. C. W. Moule, M.A., Librarian of Corpus Christi College, for permission to photograph the two passages; and to Mr. F. R. R. Rudman, B.A., of King's College, who most kindly examined the document at the request of Mr. Boucher. The photographs were taken by Messrs. Mason and Basevi, of Cambridge.



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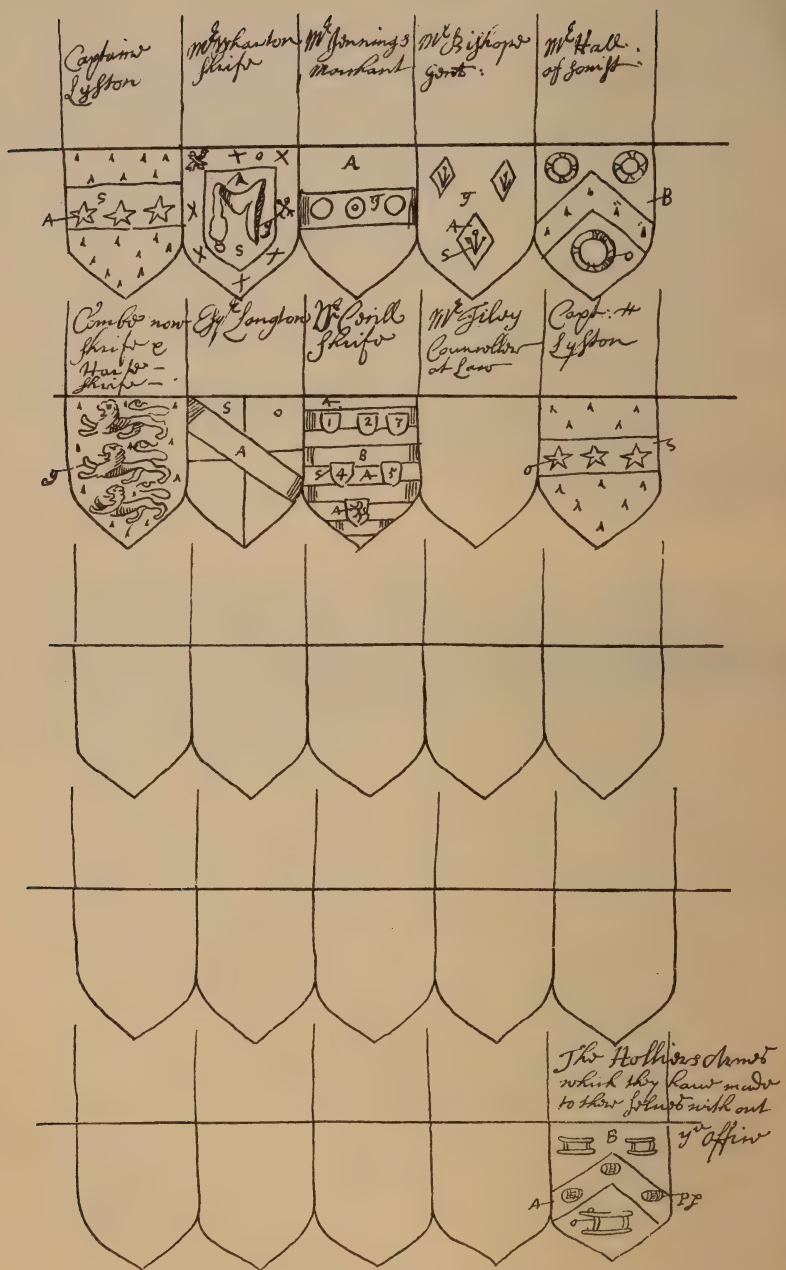
ARMS OF SOME CITIZENS OF BRISTOL. 76-100.



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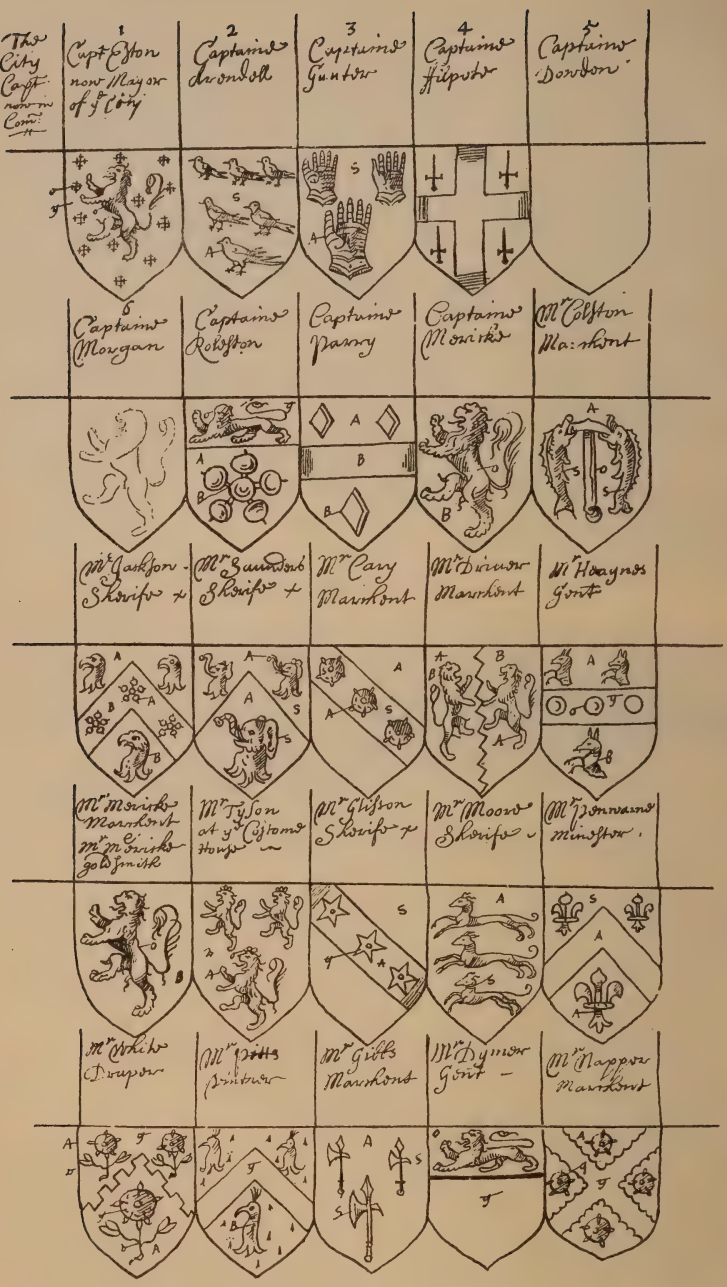
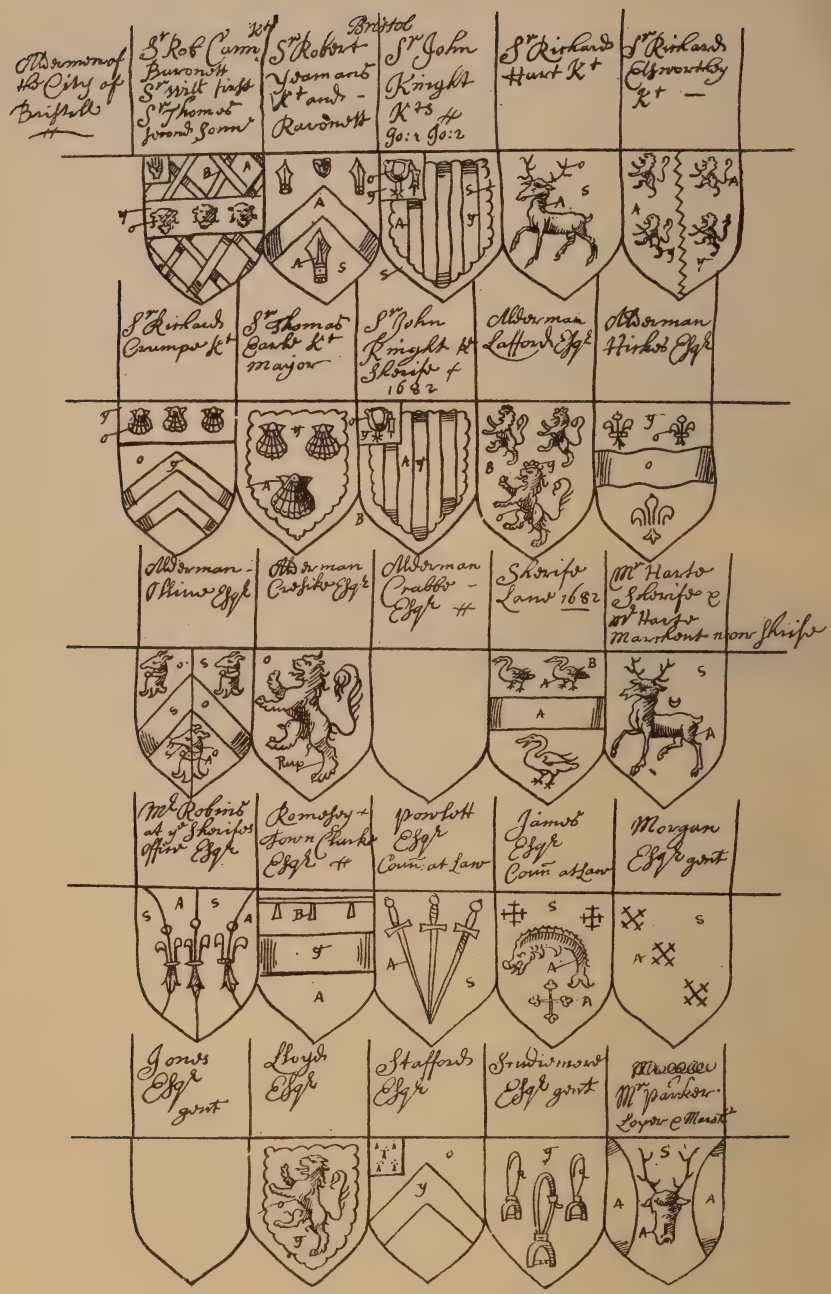
ARMS OF SOME CITIZENS OF BRISTOL. 51-75.



ARMS OF SOME CITIZENS OF BRISTOL. 26-50.



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ARMS OF SOME CITIZENS OF BRISTOL. 1-25.

THE HERALDRY OF SOME OF THE CITIZENS OF BRISTOL BETWEEN THE YEARS 1662 AND 1688.

BY

EDWARD CONDER, F.S.A., AND FRANCIS WERE.

In a previous paper[1] on the "Visitations of Gloucestershire," attention was drawn to the fact that, besides the College of Arms manuscripts, there are at the British Museum and in some other libraries certain manuscript copies of visitations, heralds' rough notebooks, and draft pedigrees, from which the "Fair Copies" for the College were made. Many of these rough sheets have been subsequently annotated, and frequently contain additional matter of considerable importance. In fact, any notes added to these manuscripts during the time they are known to have been in the possession of the heralds should not be lightly passed over, as in many cases information of the greatest use to the genealogist may be lost.

The plates of arms of Bristol aldermen and others which follow in this paper illustrate the condition of one of the rough copies of the *Visitation of Gloucestershire* made by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1569. The manuscript from which they are taken is now in the library of Mr. W. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A., by whose kindness I am able to reproduce them.

This copy of the *Gloucestershire Visitation* was formerly in the Tixhall Library, and was sold by Sotheby in November, 1889, as Lot No. 666 of their catalogue.

It was once the property of Peter le Neve, Norroy King-at-Arms (1704—1729), who married as his first wife Prudence, daughter of John Hughes, of Bristol, merchant; and it is, I believe, the same manuscript as Lot No. 634 in the sale catalogue of his library in 1731.

[1] *Transactions*, volume xxviii., p. 127.

Le Neve's industry in collecting arms[1] and annotating the *Visitations of Norfolk*, &c., is well known, and doubtless his connection with Bristol through his first marriage caused him to add these citizens' arms to the *County Visitation* in his possession, although it was of so much earlier a date. They occur at the end of the manuscript, under the following heading: "Aldermen of the City of Bristol." There is no date or notes of any sort beyond the names and titles over each shield. Why these arms were not included in the *Visitation* of 1682-3 it is impossible to say. They were doubtless in many cases arms borne by prescription, and the prescriptive right to bear arms "was fully recognised by the heralds long before the Visitations began and long after they ceased."[2]

Through the kindness of Mr. Francis Were, who has carefully examined each coat, I am able to add the blazon and further particulars of the aldermen to this collection of Bristol arms.

THE ARMS OF THE ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

BLAZONED FROM THE TRICKINGS BY F. WERE.

1. "Fretty arg. and az. on a fess gu. three leopards' faces or, with Bart.'s inescutcheon as dex. canton," Sir ROBERT CANN, Knt. Baronett, Sir WILLIAM first Sir THOMAS second sonne. (He was elected Mayor 1662. See the confusion of the question of precedency in the Corporation of Bristol, *Annals of Bristol*, seventeenth century, p. 312, &c.)

2. "Sa. a chev. betw. three spear heads arg. with Bart.'s inescutcheon in chief," Sir ROBERT YEAMANS, Kt. and Baronett; whilst above is part of Bristol coupled with the next, evidently for private indexing. (See above reference to Latimer, p. 313.)

[1] Le Neve's "Ordinary" contains some thousands of arms, MS. Fo., *Annotated Visitation of Norfolk* and *The Catalogue of Knights*, &c.

[2] *Vide* "Heralds' College and Prescription," W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., *The Ancestor*, vols. 8, 9, 10.

3. "Arg. three palets gu. within bord. engr. sa. on a canton of the second a spur and leather rowel downwards or," Sir JOHN KNIGHT, and then comes a reference for indexing, "Kts * Go : r Jo : 2." (The herald's hand was a little shaky here, as he has made two of the palets almost wavy. He was Mayor 1663.)

4. "Sa. a buck trippant arg. attired or," Sir RICHARD HART, Kt. (He was Mayor 1680.)

5. "Per pale indented arg. and gu. four lions ramp. 2 and 2 counterchanged," Sir RICHARD ELSWORTHEY, Kt. (Mr. Latimer calls him Richard Ellsworth, and says that in 1660 he was appointed Customer, but in 1677 he is dubbed Knt).

6. "Or two chevs. gu. on a chief of the second three escallops of the first," Sir RICHARD CRUMPE, Kt. (He was elected in 1685 M.P., in 1677 he was Mayor, being a chandler by trade.)

7. "Gu. three escallops within bord. engr. arg.," Sir THOMAS EARLE, Kt., Mayor. (1681 he was elected M.P., and knighted the same year.)

8. Almost the same as No. 3, but the bord. is tricked az., not sa., possibly a difference, though more likely faded sa., Sir JOHN KNIGHT, Kt., Sherife 1682. (In the lists he is put down in 1681 as Sir John K. the second.)

9. "Az. three lions ramp. 2 and 1 or crowned gu.," Alderman LAFFORD Esqr. (This, I take it, is intended for Lawford, a John L. being Mayor in 1664.)

10. "Gu. a fess wavy betw. three fleurs-de-lys or," Alderman HICKES Esqr. (There was a John Hickes Mayor in 1671.)

11. "Per pale or and sa. a chev. betw. three greyhounds' heads erased counterchanged, the latter collared and ringed arg.," Alderman OLLIVVE Esqr. (This name is generally spelt Olliffe, and a Ralph O. was Mayor 1674.)

12. "Or a lion ramp. purp.," Alderman CRESIKE Esqr. (This, I think, represents Joseph Creswick, Mayor 1679. It is

not given in *Armories*, the usual Creswick being "Or a lion ramp. guard gu.")

13. Blank. Over it Alderman CRABBE Esq., and reference mark *. (William Crabb was Mayor 1676.)

14. "Az. a fess betw. three swans arg.," Sherife LANE, 1682. (In Mr. Latimer's list Richard L. was Sheriff in 1681.)

15. "Sa. a buck trippant arg. a crescent for difference," Mr. HARTE, Sherife (and) Mr. HARTE, marshant, now Sherife. Arthur Hart was Sheriff 1680, and George H. 1682 (so it was in this last-mentioned year, 1682-3, that these trickings were made).

16. "Per pale arg. and sa. three fleurs-de-lys in fess between two flaunches all counterchanged," Mr. ROBINS at the Sherife's ? Office Esqr. (This is not given as the true Robins, but it is corroborated by Bigland.)

17. "Arg. a fess gu. in chief a label of three points az.," ROMESEY Town Clarke Esqr., and reference mark *. (Mr. Latimer, *Seventeenth Century*, p. 373, styles him John Romsey, and he was elected 1676.)

18. "Sa. three swords pilewise points in base arg." (generally hilted and pommelled or, but not tricked here), POWLETT Esqr., Coun(cillor) at Law. (In 1688, p. 450, William P. was appointed Recorder of Bristol.)

19. "Sa. a dolphin embowed naiant betw. in chief two crosses croslet and in base a cross botonny arg.," JAMES Esqr., Coun(cillor) at Law. (I suppose this to be a son of Chancellor James, who was buried at Barrow Gurney, Somerset, 1666.)

20. "Sa. three crosses croslet in bend arg.," MORGAN Esqr. gent. (!). (George M. was Sheriff in 1686, and there are monuments to the family in Easton-in-Gordano Church, Somerset. Edward M., upholster, was Mayor in 1667.)

21. Blank. JONES Esqr., gent. (!). (About this time Charles J. was a soap boiler, and Mr. Richard J: left money for almshouses.)

22. "Gu. a lion ramp. within bord. engr. or," LLOYD Esqr. (There was a John L. a brewer, who was knighted; he was Mayor in 1678.)

23. "Or a chev. gu. a dex. canton erm.," STAFFORD Esqr. (Not in Latimer.)

24. "Gu. three stirrups pendent from leathers 2 and 1 arg.," SCUDAMORE Esqr., gent. (!).

25. "Sa. a buck's head cabossed and attired betw. two flaunches arg.," a defaced word, Mr. PARKER Loyer and Marsht. (Most probably a son of Timothy P., who was Sheriff in 1659.)

The City Corpt. ? (Corporation) now in Com. (Commission).

26. 1: "Gu. semy of crosses croslet a lion ramp. or," Capt. ESTON now Mayor of the City. (Thomas Eston, merchant 1682 and Sheriff 1670. Latimer's *Annals*.)

27. 2: "Sa. six swallows 3.2.1. arg.," Captaine ARENDELL. (Edmond Arundell was Sheriff in 1683.)

28. 3: "Sa. three sinister gauntlets 2 and 1 arg.," Captaine GUNTER. (Not mentioned in Latimer's list. Chancellor James married one of the family.)

29. 4: (No tricking) really "Gu. a cross betw. four swords erect (arg.) hilted and pommelled (or)," Captaine FFILPOTE. (Not in Latimer.)

30. 5: Blank. Headed Captaine DOWDON.

31. 6: "A lion ramp. entrailed," Captaine MORGAN. (There was a George M. Sheriff in 1686.)

32. (No continuation of numbers.) "Arg. a cinquefoil az. on a chief gu. a lion of England or," Captaine ROLESTON. (Not in Latimer's list or Pryce.)

33. "Arg. a fess betw. three lozenges az," Captaine PARRY. (Not in lists.)

34. "Az. a lion ramp. or," Captaine MERICKE. (Giles Merricke was Sheriff in 1684, and William M. in 1685. I have my doubts about the tinctures here, this is generally Meredith, and the lion bearing Merrick's was generally "Sa. a lion ramp. arg.")

35. "Arg. an anchor in pale head in chief or" (I have my doubts about this tricking, as it is partially false. I think "proper" is meant) "betw. two dolphins haurient respectant, vorant the flukes of the anchor sa," Mr. COLSTON, Merchant.

36. "Arg. on a chev. betw. three eagles' heads erased az. as many cinquefoils arg.," Mr. JACKSON, Sherife. (William in 1678, and Mayor partly in 1688.)

37. "Per chev. sa. and arg. three elephants' heads erased 2 and 1 counterchanged," Mr. SAUNDERS, Sherife. (Thomas S. in 1687.)

38. "Arg. on a bend sa. three roses of the field," Mr. CARY, Marchent. (Mr. Latimer, p. 447, says that James II.'s mandate to elect a new Corporation in 1688 included a John C., gent., and that John C., merchant, was a patron of Bonny the printer.)

39. "Per pale indented arg. and az. two lions ramp. combatant counterchanged," Mr. DRIVER, Merchant. Nathaniel D. was Sheriff in 1683.)

40. "Arg. on a fess gu. betw. three demi greyhounds ? salient couped az. as many bezants," Mr. HEAYNES, Gent.

41. "Az. a lion ramp. or," Mr. MERICKE, Marchent, and Mr. MERICKE, Goldsmith. (See No. 34, where the tricking is the same.)

42. "Vert three lions ramp. 2 and 1 arg. crowned or," Mr. TYSON at the Custome House.

43. "Sa. on a bend arg. three pierced mullets gu.," Mr. GLISSON, Sherife. (Latimer says Henry G. was Sheriff in 1676.)

44. "Arg. three greyhounds courant in pale (and ? collared) sa.," Mr. MOORE, Sherife. (Latimer says John M. was Sheriff in 1677.)

45. "Sa. a chev. betw. three fleurs-de-lys arg.," Mr. (?) PENWAINE, Minester. (I cannot find this family; in the Carew scroll is a Penwarren or Penwarn who bore a similar coat.)

46. "Per chev. embat. gu. and arg. three sprigs of roses 2 and 1, counterchanged, stalked and leaved vert," Mr. WHITE, Draper. (Perhaps George W., as he presented scarlet robes to the Mayor.)

47. "Erm. a chev. gu. betw. three peacocks' heads erased az.," Mr. PITTS, Vintner.

48. "Arg. three battleaxes 2 and 1, sa.," Mr. GIBBS, Marchent. (Henry G., a draper, was Mayor in 1652.)

49. "Gu. on a chief or a lion pass. sa.," Mr. DYMER, Gent. (John D. was Sheriff in 1673, and died while in office. *Armories* give this as Dymot.)

50. "Arg. a saltire engr. betw. four roses gu. barbed (? vert)," Mr. NAPPER, Marchent.

51. "Erm. on a fess sa. three mullets arg.," Captaine LYSTON. (Thomas Liston was Sheriff in 1688.)

52. "Sa. a maunch arg. within bord. or charged with eight pairs of lions' paws in saltire erased gu.," Mr. WHARTON, Sherife. (Samuel W. was Sheriff in 1674.)

53. "Arg. on a fess gu. three bezants," Mr. JENNINGS, Morchant.

54. "Gu. three lozenges 2 and 1 arg. each charged with a pheon sa.," Mr. BISHOPE, Gent. (Latimer, p. 349, says there was "a Capt. George B., one of the local Puritan leaders during the Civil War and a prominent Quaker, buried in 1668," so this is likely to be a son, but scarcely a Quaker. *Armories* say the family were of co. Devon.)

55. "Az. a chev. betw. three chaplets or wreaths or," Mr. HALL of Som(er)s(e)t.

56. "Erm. three lions pass. in pale gu.," COMBE now Sherife (and) (?) HARTE, Sherife. (George Hart and John Combes, Sheriffs in 1682.)

57. "Quarterly sa. and or a bend arg.," Esqr. LANGTON. (Sir Thomas L., Knt., was Mayor in 1666, so I suppose this was his son.)

58. "Arg. four bars az. over all (most probably on the field) six inescutcheons sa. charged three in chief with figures

1.2.3. and the two in fess with 4.5., whilst the sixth in base bears a lion ramp. arg. (intended to take the place of the figures)," ? Dr. or Mr. CECILL, Sherife. (Latimer says John C. was Sheriff in 1673.)

59. Blank. Headed Mr. TILEY, Counseller at Law. (I imagine this to be one of the Tilleys of Somerset. Latimer gives a Thomas Tyley, mercer in 1683.)

60. "Erm. on a fess sa. three mullets or," Capt. (reference mark) * LYSTON. (See No. 51. Whether this is a correction or variation only I cannot say; but the mullets there are arg., here or. Both are given in the *Armories* for the same family Lister.)

61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74 are blank, and not headed.

75. ? "Az. on a chev. arg. betw. three sledges or drays or, as many bales or barrels proper," The HOLLIERS Armes which they have made to theirselves without the (?) Office. (This speaks sufficiently for itself, but in tricking it he has proved that it was not false heraldry.)

76. "Az. three sinister wings erect 2 and 1 arg.," Mr. BRAND, prokter Tory. (Not given by Latimer. Politics seem to have run high.)

77. "Per pale erm. and sa. a double-headed eagle displ. or on a canton az. a martlet of the third," Mr. GOODMAN, Atorney.

78. "Arg. a bord. engr. gu. on a chief az. three mullets arg.," Mr. HILLIER, Atorney. (*Armories* give this as Hillyer, say the mullets are or, and the family belongs to Devon and Oxon.)

79. "Per chev. gu. and arg. a crescent in fess counter-changed," Mr. CHAPMAN, Atorney.

80. "Arg. a lion ramp. sa. collared and chained reflexed over back or," Mr. MERIEDETH, Atorney. (Of the Radnorshire family.)

81. ". . . a bend . . . (entrailed not tricked)," Mr. BROWNE, Colecktor of the Costume House, and reference mark *.

82. "Per pale arg. and gu. a bull pass. counterchanged," Mr. COLE, of the * Costom House.

83. "Az. a lion ramp. crowned arg. within bord. of the second charged with eight torteaux," Mr. HENLEIGH, Marshant. (Latimer, p. 391, says that Robert Henley, merchant, offered himself in 1679 as a candidate for Parliament, much to the disgust of the Corporation.)

84. "Arg. on a chev. engr. az. betw. three martlets sa. as many cinquefoils or," Mr. HAYMAN, Sherife. (William H. was Sheriff in 1679, and in 1684 was Mayor, and had been knighted.)

85. "Gu. three church bells 2 and 1 or," Mr. SWEMER, Sherife. (William Swymmer was Sheriff with Hayman in 1679.)

86. "Sa. a fess betw. six fleurs-de-lys arg.," Mr. HOOKE, Brewer. (Most probably a son of Sir Humphrey H., of the Kingsweston family.)

87. "Arg. a lion pass. betw. three crosses formée fitchée gu.," Mr. DIGHTON, Brewer.

88. "Sa. a chev. arg. betw. three spear heads of the second embrued gu.," Mr. PRICE, gent.

89. "Arg. on a fess az. three lozenges or," Mr. FFIELDING, Sherife. (Edward Feilding was Sheriff in 1674.)

90. "Erm. on a chief indented az. two eagles displ. arg.," Mr. DAYE, Sherife. (Thomas D. was Sheriff in 1670.)

91. "Arg. a lion ramp. within bord. engr. gu.," Major HARPER. (A variation, more often "lion and bord. are sa.")

92. "Arg. a chev. (not tricked, sa.) betw. three boys' heads affronté couped at the shoulders ppr. each wrapped round the neck with a snake vert," Mr. VAUGHAN, Loyer.

93. "Arg. a fess embat. sa. betw. three lions pass. gu.," Mr. CODERINGTON, Messer (? Mercer).

94. "Per fess embat. arg. and sa. three field gates 2 and 1, counterchanged," Mr. YEATES, Marshent.

95. "Erm. on a chief gu. a label of three points or," Mr. BULLOKE, Marshent. ("Erm. a chief gu." is Bullock, so this is the eldest branch or son.)

96. "Sa. a bull's head and neck couped arg. within wreath or and az.," Mr. PIME, Sword bearer of Bristoll. Daniel P., see No. 100. (The Pyms were of co. Somerset.)

97. "Sa. on a bend arg. three mascles also tricked arg.," Mr. CARINGTON, gent. (This, of course, is false, and I cannot find any C. like it; but it seems to have escaped the wary herald's ruling.)

98. "Arg. a chev. betw. three lions ramp. sa. a chief erm.," Doktor BOURNE of Somft. (I think this is a variation, as in all the Somerset Bourne coats I have come across, the chevron, whatever the lions were, has been always gules.)

99. "Arg. on a pile gu. a chev. betw. three crosses croslet of the field," Mr. DAW, Loyer *. (They were also a Somerset and Dorset family.)

100. "Or on a bend cotised az. betw. six trefoils 3 and 3 slipped vert, three escallops of the field," Mr. ROW, Sword bearer, now wigg. (John Roe Latimer calls him, but the herald's name seems more appropriate, for he was always in hot water, and the second office he held seems to have been a political one. He was dismissed from his post in 1681, and Daniel Pym was elected in his place. See No. 96. Latimer, p. 404.)

SIR BROOK KAY.

In Memoriam.

SIR BROOK KAY, BART.

Sir Brook Kay, fourth baronet of the name, passed to his rest on March 15th, 1907, and all who knew him, and many others who had never seen his face, were the poorer for his loss.

He was President of this Society in 1885, and President of the Council from 1887—1903. He resigned the latter office only because the infirmities which came with increasing years made it difficult for him to attend the meetings. As during the latter half of his long and honourable life I had the privilege of knowing him intimately, and of working with him on many committees, I have gladly consented, when asked by the Editor, to contribute a short memoir.

He was born in London in 1820, and was the eldest son of Sir Brook Watson Kay, the third baronet, and of his wife, Margaret Bruce Barclay, of Towie Barclay, Scotland. His father, who was at one time a prisoner in the hands of the French at Brest, was captain in H.M.'s Navy, and also captain in the navy of the Hon. East India Company. Sir Brook Kay's mother died in 1829, and his father married again seven years later.

He began his studies at Bayshill School, Cheltenham, under Mr. Fallon, and later on he attended the Edinburgh High School. He was prepared for the Army at Wimbledon, and at 19 years of age he entered the service of the Hon. East India Company in the Bombay Presidency. He served as a subaltern under Sir Richard England in 1839, in the expedition to Kandahar, to place Soojah on the throne of Afghanistan. The expedition was at first successful, but the occupation of Kabul led to disaster and retreat. The new Ameer was killed by his own people in an insurrection, and the British garrison, compelled to evacuate the city, were massacred at Gundamuck, one man only, Dr. Brydon, escaping to tell the sad tale. Sir Brook Kay, fortunately, had returned to his duties in Southern India. A second invasion of Afghanistan, in 1842, was more successful, but the only result of British victories was to

reverse the policy of 1839, and replace Dost Mahomed on the throne. Sir Brook Kay returned home from India on leave in 1851. In 1853 he married Eliza, daughter of John P. Wilmot, Esq., of Westbury, Sherborne. Two years later he was compelled by ill-health to retire from the Hon. East India Company's service.

In 1858, the year in which the Hon. East India Company ceased to exist, he settled at Painswick, where he remained six years.

In 1866 his father died, and Sir Brook Kay succeeded to the baronetcy. In 1867 he and Lady Kay took up their residence at Stanley Lodge, Battledown, Charlton Kings, and he lived there till his death. The rare and beautiful trees he planted in his garden will remind those who come after of his proficiency in one of his favourite recreations—horticulture.

It was in the year 1867 that my friendship with him began, and it lasted till his death. In that year I found Sir Brook Kay acting as superintendent in the Park Street Sunday School, Charlton Kings. A few months later I became curate of that parish, and during the two and a half years I remained there he was the mainstay of the Vicar, the Rev. F. S. Gabb. Nor was it different when a new *régime* began under Mr. Gabb's successor, the Rev. C. L. Dundas, afterwards Dean of Hobart Town, and now Archdeacon of Dorset. Sir Brook Kay took a generous part in the restoration of the parish church, and was in the forefront of every good work.

In 1876 the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society was formed, and Sir Brook Kay was amongst its earliest members. As a Vice-President of the Society he attended regularly the meetings of Council, and was rarely absent from the general meetings. In 1885 he was President of the Society, and at the Tewkesbury meeting he gave an interesting address on the history of the abbey and town. In 1887, on the lamented death of Sir William Guise, Bart., Sir Brook Kay was unanimously elected President of Council, and during the sixteen years he held that position his unfailing courtesy permeated the proceedings, and the pleasantest relations existed amongst the members.

In August, 1891, the Royal Archæological Institute held its annual meeting at Gloucester, and an influential local committee, composed principally of members of this Society, made the

preparatory arrangements. On the first day of the meeting, August 12th, Sir Brook Kay, on behalf of the Council and members, presented an address of welcome to the President and members of the Institute.

Sir Brook Kay, in 1877, was introduced to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem by his friend, Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart., of Rhydd Court, Worcestershire. He took a deep interest in the Ophthalmic Hospital founded by the Priory in Jerusalem, and he was a zealous supporter of the St. John's Ambulance Association. In May, 1907, Sir Herbert Perrott, Secretary of the Order, wrote to Lady Kay expressing the great regret of the members on hearing of his death, and speaking of him as a Knight Justice of the Order, who for many years had taken an active personal interest in its proceedings.

Sir Brook Kay for many years was an active member of the Gloucester Diocesan Conference, being one of the twelve laymen nominated by the Bishop. He was Hon. Treasurer and one of the Trustees of the Diocesan Branch of the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund, and a liberal subscriber. He attended regularly the meetings of the Conference and of the Committees on which he served. Bishop Ellicott had the highest respect for him.

Sir Brook Kay succeeded Mr. Gilby very many years ago as Chairman of the Cheltenham General Hospital, and was ever one of its most enthusiastic supporters.

I learn from Mr. R. V. Vassar Smith, Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the Order of Freemasons, that Sir Brook Kay was a member of the Founder's Lodge, Cheltenham, and that he was a generous supporter of the charities. He was appointed Grand Registrar in 1887.

In February, 1907, the friends of Sir Brook Kay heard with the deepest sorrow that he had met with a serious accident that might prove fatal. He lingered just a month, and on March 15th he entered into the immediate presence of the Divine Master he had loved and served so well. His body was laid to rest in the churchyard of Charlton Kings, where his mother had been buried nearly eighty years before.

WILLIAM BAZELEY.

Notices of Publications.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BRISTOL. By JOHN LATIMER. Bristol: J. W. ARROWSMITH. 1908.

THIS book has an interest of its own since it is the last work that was published by our local centuriator. It appeared originally in the form of a series of letters in the *Bristol Mercury*, which began on December 27th, 1902, and were continued at weekly intervals during the next four months. The author presented a copy of his work to the city, in which a few alterations and additions had been made, and these have been incorporated in the present edition by the kindness of the City Librarian, Mr. E. R. Norris Mathews. From the occasional nature of the work, and the method of its publication, it will be evident that it does not stand quite on the same footing with the volumes which deal with the succeeding centuries, but none the less, since the writer had access to the account books of the Corporation, does it contain materials of very real value for those who are interested in the history of the city.

No doubt to some extent, in consequence of the manner of its publication, the book is rather a chronicle than a history; it relates events, but does not arrange them together in such a way as to trace the relation between them, the causes which led to them, or the issues which flowed from them. For instance, although a good many things are mentioned which were connected with the Reformation in its different aspects, it would not be possible from this book to form any connected idea of the beginnings, and the progress, and the results, of the Reformation in Bristol. As was natural in dealing with that period of the history of the city of churches, Mr. Latimer began with the religious side of the life of the borough; and as Holy Days became holidays, he passed by an easy transition to the amusements of the burgesses, and he might have added to these duck-hunting at Treen Mill, where Bathurst Basin now is, but where in those days was a mill-pond supplied by the Malago brook.

As sound finance is the keystone of good government, corporate revenue is the first secular subject with which the writer deals, and the

collection and distribution of this rested to a much larger extent with the sheriffs than with the chamberlain, with whom we might have thought that such duties would rest. It is not unlikely that in early days the sheriffs or their predecessors had farmed the borough, and not improbably made a good thing out of it, but by the reign of Henry VIII. things were far otherwise, and the office of sheriff had become as burdensome as that of the mayoralty had become three centuries later. At any rate, the sheriffs of 1518–9 were out of pocket to the amount of £146, or about £2,200 of present-day reckoning, and they were by no means reconciled to the loss by the consideration of the dignity conferred upon them. An appeal to Cardinal Wolsey resulted in the deficiency being reduced to £58, so that according to the present value of money the office of sheriff would still have cost its holder about £450, apart from "the apparel of them and their wives," an item which it seems added to the burden of office. With regard to the prices paid for monastic estates, it seems that in 1544 the king sold to the city estates of a clear value of £68 for the sum of £790, less than twelve years' purchase, the king accepting so low a price, no doubt, in order to make the dissolution profitable, and therefore acceptable, to the Corporation as well as to himself. Concerning the payment in 1577 by the Corporation of £66 13s. 4d. to the Crown, on account of the endowment for a priest at Trinity Almshouse and that of the Three Kings of Cologne, a somewhat similar charge was made on the Vestry of St. Thomas the Martyr. In 1535 Maude Jubbe settled a house in Temple Street on trust to support a priest for the hospital on Redcliff Hill, the residue of the profit to be expended on the repairs of St. Thomas's Church. The priest, of course, disappeared, and the vestry seem to have pocketed the whole of the rent till, in 1579, they were compelled to pay thirty shillings to the queen in compensation for her claim to the chaplain's interest. At any rate they got off more cheaply than the Corporation were able to do.

On page 22 Mr. Latimer seems to imply that the cathedral was stripped of its lead in 1553. But the return of 1556, which mentions the removal of nearly 130 tons of lead from the cathedral, includes lead from other dissolved houses; the very next entries refer to Cirencester, Hailes and Winchcombe, which were dissolved in December, 1539. It is likely, therefore, that the lead referred to was removed from the nave of St. Augustine's soon after the surrender on December 9th, 1539.

The problem of poverty was a pressing one at this period, and in 1532 the Corporation attempted to deal with it by appointing an official entitled the "Master of the beggars," at a salary of £1 a year and a coat; and some forty years later they hit upon an ingenious plan of transferring the burden of the poverty by sending some twenty poor persons to beg

in Somerset. These municipal mendicants were duly provided with forty tin badges weighing a quarter of a pound for each beggar, and stamped with the City Arms. These early anticipations of sandwichmen bore one badge on their breasts and another on their backs. At any rate, this treatment was more merciful than the whipcord which the Gloucester authorities provided for their beggars in 1555.

The relations between Bristol and Gloucester do not seem to have been very friendly at this time. In 1531 the Gloucester officials seized a quantity of wheat which was being brought down the Severn to Bristol. The mayor and sheriffs were, however, summoned to London, and were ordered by the Star Chamber to restore as much good wheat as they had stolen, and to pay the Corporation of Bristol £6 13s. 4d. each, about £100 according to the present value of money. Even the Star Chamber had its uses. Later on, however, Gloucester was victorious; it was then within the jurisdiction of the Custom House at Bristol, but in 1565 attempts were made to set up an independent Custom House at Gloucester. These attempts were defeated at the time, and also when they were repeated in 1576; but in 1580 the queen, by Letters Patent, established a Custom House at Gloucester.

Mr. Latimer gives some interesting particulars of the currency difficulties in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Since the chamberlain lost pretty heavily in 1559 on the debased money which had been issued in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., we may be sure that poor people lost very much more heavily. Later on difficulties of another kind arose in connection with the lack of small change. The penny was the coin of least value that was minted, and in old days it had been the custom to break these coins into four pieces or farthings; but even so in the reign of Henry VIII. the farthing would have been worth at least threepence of modern currency. To meet this difficulty tradesmen in different places began, about 1574, to issue farthing tokens made of base metal or even of leather. The convenience would have been great if there had been any real security for the currency, but as these tokens could often not be traced to the persons who issued them and profited largely by the issue, those who accepted them were frequently subject to serious loss. The difficulty was to some extent met by placing the local coinage of small change under the control of the Corporation. The chapter dealing with this subject is very valuable, for little has hitherto been known about these Elizabethan tokens in Bristol.

Considering that in 1574 Queen Elizabeth had issued a commission to enfranchise the bondmen and bondwomen on the royal manors in

Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Gloucester,[1] it is surprising to find that in 1586 Lord Stafford, of Thornbury, laid claim to the person and property of Richard Cole, Mayor of Bristol, and his brother Thomas, on the ground that they were his villeins, and without attempting to prove his case in any court of law had threatened violence against them. Finally the Privy Council ordered that the matter should be heard and determined by the Lord Chancellor and two judges on December 5th, 1587, and Lord Stafford took no further steps in the matter. These old feudal rights died hard. A similar claim had been made about a century before by Lord de la Warre against William Bird, who had served the offices of sheriff and mayor; and to this day everyone who is admitted as a Freeman of the Borough of Bristol promises, as a part of his oath, to take no apprentice who is "bond of blood."

One of the most striking features of the public life of the time was the prevalence of bribery and corruption by means of gifts; it seems clear that no business could be got through before the itching palms of those in authority and their underlings had been duly crossed with some "gratification." The system was prevalent even in the highest quarters. In 1588 the Corporation expended the very large sum of £42 in the purchase of three butts of sack for the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), Lord Treasurer Burleigh and Lord Leicester. However, the last-named beneficiary very coolly tapped the butt intended for one of the other two grantees, and took out three or four gallons of wine which the chamberlain had to make good. The wine was given "in hope of the continuance of their goodwill and favour to the city." The gifts, however, sometimes failed. On one occasion when the Lord Admiral contested the Admiralty jurisdiction of the city the chamberlain intended to resort to the usual means, and procured a piece of plate as a "gratification" for his lordship, who, however, would not be pacified. Whereupon the chamberlain gave the silversmith ten shillings to take back the plate, and the Lord Admiral lost both his plate and his cause. But the city was not always so fortunate. In 1580 the Corporation applied for a new Charter. As usual courtiers had to be "gratified," and among them Dr. Wilson, Dean of Durham (though Mr. Latimer says York), received £10; but as he disappeared from Court and died soon afterwards, it seems to have been thought that the city hardly got its money's worth. A still more tragic difficulty arose in 1540. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was Recorder at the time; his fee of £20 was due at Christmas, but he was clever enough to secure payment even before he was beheaded on July 28th, and when the accounts came up for audit the auditors noted that this payment ought not to have been made. Mr. Latimer remarks that it does not appear how the difficulty was settled.

1 Letters Patent, April 3rd, 1574.

Mr. Latimer fell into a very unfortunate mistake with regard to his estimate of the population of the borough in the sixteenth century, given on page 25. The commissioners who were sent out in 1548 to take a survey of the property of the chantries made a return also of the "howseling people" in each parish; "howseling people" being those who were competent to partake of the Sacrament of the Altar, probably about one half of the population. Mr. Latimer, however, treated the numbers as though they were a census of the whole population of the borough, with the result that his total of about six thousand "howseling people" represents only about half the population instead of the whole, which would have been about twelve thousand as shown by these figures. The larger amount would seem to agree fairly well with the population of 9,500 reckoned by Professor Thorold Rogers from the Poll Tax returns of 1377;[1] he thought that the only larger cities at that time were London, with about 35,000, and York, with near 11,000 people. The slip is a serious one, and should be carefully noted by possessors of the book. The volume is provided with a satisfactory index, and it throws many very interesting sidelights on the history of Bristol during the period which it covers.

HISTORY OF WOODSPRING PRIORY. By W. G. WILLIS WATSON. Weston-super-Mare: Lawrence Brothers. 1908.

THOUGH Woodspring, or Worspring, Priory is not situated in our district, yet it is so near to Weston-super-Mare—a place with which many of us must be familiar—that this little guidebook well deserves a notice here. It may be said at once that the book is a very good example of its class, as it is well written and very carefully compiled. It is divided into four portions, dealing respectively with the history, description, benefactions, and suppression of the priory, which, like Bristol Abbey and Lanthony Priory, was a house of Augustinian Canons. It was founded about 1210 by William de Courtenay, a grandson of Reginald Fitz Urse, one of the murderers of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and dedicated in the name of the Blessed Virgin and the martyred archbishop. As Mr. Watson remarks, however, it is not necessary to suppose that it was founded in expiation of the crime of the murder, for many churches founded about that time bore the same dedication, such as St. Thomas in Redcliff, the chapel on London Bridge, and the parish church of Portsmouth.

1 *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, ed. 1884, p. 117.

The house was never a wealthy one. Its revenues at the dissolution were estimated at only £90 annually, and its lands lay all close around in Worle, Locking, and Kewstoke, with a little at Sandford and Butcombe. But the remains of the buildings are of singular beauty, and well deserve a visit; they are also of much interest, for the tower and nave are now inhabited as a farmhouse. The so-called "refectory" and the prior's barn are also in excellent preservatlon. The house seems to have been happy in having no recorded history, and it fell under the Act of February, 1536, by which all religious houses of less value than £200 passed into the hands of the king. As usual, there were greedy applicants for the spoil, and Richard Bysschoppe as early as 1534, and Humphrey Stafford in April, 1536, made suit for Worspring, but it was sold in 30 Henry VIII. (1538) to Sir John St. Loe.

The remains of Worspring Priory are not so well known as they deserve to be. Of the myriads who visit Weston in the course of the summer hardly any visit the spot; but if any of our members who may be there should devote an afternoon to Worspring, and a walk along Swallow Cliff if the tide is high, they will thank the writer for suggesting so pleasant a trip, and Mr. Watson for publishing so very helpful a guide. The illustrations are by no means equal to the letterpress. Folk would do well to go and see the priory itself, which is less than four miles from Weston, through the Kewstoke woods.

A few corrections may be noted. Puxton was never subject to Worspring; it was always, while the priory existed, a chapel of Banwell. And Locking was no doubt included in the Domesday manors of *Worsprinca* and *Chiwestoc*, now Worspring and Kewstoke, and not in any other neighbouring manor. The note relating to the rectory of Locking, at the end of the list of properties on page 78, should end with the words *in manu prioris*, not *priora*. The meaning is, that as the rectory of Locking was appropriated to the priory, and the parish church was served by a vicar, the income of the rectory had been received by the prior.

BRISTOL LIBRARY.

FOUNDED 1904.

PART II. (See vol. xxix., p. 198.)

Second List of Books presented by Members of this Society to found a Reference Library at the Society's Bristol Room at the UNIVERSITY AND LITERARY CLUB, 20 BERKELEY SQUARE, CLIFTON.

These books are kept for reference only, and may not be borrowed.

Any Member, whether lady or gentleman, can use the Society's Room by obtaining the key from the Steward of the Club, which must be returned after use.

Further Gifts are required to equip the Library, and works on County and General Histories, Monumental Brasses, Church Bells, Ancient Costume, Fonts, Coloured Glass, Mediæval Tiles, Roman Coinage, Traders' Tokens, &c., will be welcomed.

These should be addressed to JOHN E. PRITCHARD, *Hon. Secretary for Bristol, as above.*

LIST OF BOOKS.

From the Author.

A Cotteswold Manor, being the History of Painswick. By W. St. Clair Baddeley. (Privately printed.) 4to. Gloucester, 1907.

From the Author.

The History of the Parishes of Old Sodbury, and of Little Sodbury, and of the Town of Chipping Sodbury, Glos. By Francis F. Fox, F.S.A. (Privately printed.) 8vo. Bristol, 1907.

From John W. Adams.

The History and Antiquities of Tewkesbury. By W. Dyde. 8vo. Tewkesbury, 1798.

The History of the Town of Cirencester. Printed by S. Rudder. 8vo. Cirencester, 1800.

The History and Antiquities of Gloucester. By Thomas Rudge, B.D. Large paper. Gloucester, 1811.

The Original History of the City of Gloucester. By T. D. Fosbrooke, M.A., F.A.S. Demy folio. London, 1819.

Ecclesiæ Bristolianæ, being views of the Churches of Bristol. 4to. Bristol. (*c.* 1850.)

From J. W. Arrowsmith.

Arrowsmith's Dictionary of Bristol. 8vo. Bristol, 1906.

From James Baker.

The New Guide to Bristol and Clifton. Edited by James Baker, 1898.

From J. B. C. Burroughs.

Bristol Riots, 1831. Report of the Commissioners: Bristol Damage Compensation Act. Large folio. Bristol, 1835.

From the Clifton Antiquarian Club.

Proceedings from the commencement in 1884. Vols. i to v., and two parts vol. vi.

From Francis F. Fox.

The Annals of Chepstow Castle. By J. F. Marsh. Edited by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A. (Privately printed.) 4to. 1883.

"The Rental of the Houses in Gloucester," A.D. 1455. Compiled by Robert Cole. Edited by W. H. Stevenson. 4to. Gloucester, 1890.

Deerhurst. By the Rev. George Butterworth. Small 8vo. 1887.

Gloucestershire Directory for 1820. (Gall and Bradshaw's.) Small 8vo.

From Dr. Alfred Harvey.

English Church Furniture. By J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., and Alfred Harvey, M.B. 8vo. London, 1907.

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Gothic Architecture in England. By Francis Bond. Imp. 8vo. London, 1906.

From Alfred E. Hudd.

Some Ancient English Homes. By Elizabeth Hodges. Small 4to. London, 1895.

From Heber Mardon.

The Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages. By the Rev. Edward L. Cutts, B.A. 8vo. London, 1849.

Designs for Chimney Pieces, time of Charles I. By Inigo Jones. (Republished.) 8vo. London, 1858–9.

Monumental Brasses of England. By the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. Royal 8vo. London, 1849.

From E. T. Morgan.

Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities. By C. Roach Smith. (Privately printed.) Illustrated. 8vo. London, 1854.

From John E. Pritchard.

The Life of the Greeks and Romans. By E. Guhl and W. Koner. 8vo. London, 1875.

The Coinage of the European Continent. By W. Carew Hazlitt. 8vo. London, 1873.

English Topography: Durham, Gloucestershire. Edited by G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1893.

The Ecclesiastical Division of the Diocese of Bristol. By Edward Boswell. 8vo. Sherborne. (*c.* 1830.)

The Ancient Customs of the Manor of Taunton Deane. By H. B. Shillibeer. 8vo. Tiverton, 1821.

Domesday Survey: *Facsimile* of the part relating to Somersetshire. Folio. 1862.

The Wallet-book of the Roman Wall. By J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1863.

Remains concerning Britain. By William Camden. (Library of Old Authors.) 8vo. London, 1870.

Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Gloucester. By G. A. Cooke. 12mo. (*c.* 1810.)

From Francis Fox Tuckett.

Archæologia, or miscellaneous tracts relating to Antiquity; complete from the commencement in 1770 to 1899. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vols. 1 to 56. 4to.
Index Vol. 1 to 15.
Index Vol. 16 to 30.
Index Vol. 1 to 50.

From Edward J. Watson.

History of Woodspring Priory, Somerset. By W. G. Willis Watson. Demy 8vo. Weston-super-Mare, 1908.

Purchased out of the Funds of the "Winter Session."

Victoria County History: Gloucestershire, Vol. ii. Large Imperial 8vo. London, 1907.

Index of Archæological Papers, 1665—1890. 8vo. London, 1907.

September, 1908.

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I. As Life Members for a Composition of £5 5s. od., and an Admission Fee of 10s. 6d., which will entitle them to receive gratuitously for life, the annual volumes of Transactions of the Society that may be issued after the date of payment.

II. As Annual Members upon payment of 10s. 6d. Entrance Fee, and an annual subscription of 10s. 6d., which will entitle them to receive gratuitously, the annual volume of Transactions for every year for which their subscriptions are paid.

The Annual Subscription becomes due on the 1st of January, and the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. G. M. Currie, will be obliged if members will send their subscriptions to him at 26 Lansdown Place, Cheltenham.

By order of the Council, the Transactions of the Society are only issued to those members who have paid their subscriptions for the corresponding year.

Application for admission as members to be made to one of the Hon. *Local* Secretaries, the Hon. Secretary for Bristol, or to

MICHAEL G. LLOYD-BAKER,
The Cottage,
Hardwicke,
Gloucester,
Hon. *General* Secretary.

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